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THE

LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE;

CONTAINING

EVERY AUTHENTIC PARTICULAR

By which his extraordinary Character has been formed:

WITH A CONCISE

HISTORY OF THE EVENTS

THAT HAVE OCCASIONED HIS

Elevation, Abdication, and Death;

AND A

PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW

OF HIS MANNERS AND POLICY AS

A Soldier, a Statesman, & a Sovereign.

INCLUDING

Memoirs and Original Anecdotes

OF

THE IMPERIAL FAMILY,

AND THE

MOST CELEBRATED CHARACTERS THAT HAVE APPEARED IN FRANCE

DURING THE REVOLUTION.

VOL. IX.—PART II.

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THE

LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

PART II.

CHAPTER XXIX.

SPAIN.—*Salamanca surrendered.—Battle of Los Astrapiles.—Defeat of the French.—The British enter Madrid.—Evacuation of Andalusia by King Joseph.—Ballasteros dismissed.—Capture of Astorga and Valladolid.—Siege of the Castle of Burgos.—Retreat of the Allies.—Marshal Soult's Caution.—King Joseph's Return to Madrid.*

WHEN we last closed our review of Spanish affairs, we left the allies improving in their circumstances, under the command of lord Wellington. Soult was uncertain whether to keep possession of the ground he had recovered at Seville, or to ensure his safety by advancing northward. Suchet kept up the bustle and bluster of war in Valentia, and the eastern kingdoms; and Marmont was looking out for the English commander to commit some incurable mistake.

The first movement was demonstratively, though not decisively, in favour of the English. Salamanca was evacuated by the French in the night of the 16th of June: they left only 800 men in three different convents, which had been converted into *depôts*. Their fire commanded the bridge over the Tormes. The allies forded the river on the 17th, and took possession of Salamanca. The joy of the inhabitants was extreme, on seeing themselves after three long years of suffering, delivered from a foreign yoke, which is always odious to good citizens.

Marmont had gone to meet his reinforcements, by moving to the Douro. On the 20th he retraced his steps, fancying himself strong enough to enforce the allies to evacuate Salamanca. The arrival of ammunition having enabled the besiegers to keep up a brisk fire against the forts, of which the French

had kept possession, the breaches were found practicable on the 27th. La Merced and Sancayetano were carried by storm, and Sanvincente capitulated.

Lord Wellington was now endeavouring to create circumstances, that would place the court of Joseph in his power. His Lordship in a letter dated Reuda, the 7th of July, observed that he had moved his left forward as far as Pollos, near the ford of the Douro, opposite which the enemy occupied a strong position on the heights commanding the plain, where he would have deployed the army, after having forded the river; and that being unable to establish the army on the right of the Douro, before he had the means of crossing that river, he had not thought it convenient to march his troops further in advance. The greatest generals have at all times committed faults, and it is their ability in repairing them, which has handed them down to posterity as men who astonished the world by superior talents, the sole and immutable foundation of true glory. When lord Wellington had well weighed the inconveniences and advantages of the passage of the Douro, he renounced it altogether; he even removed the cantonments of his reserve to some distance from his first line, that he might have more liberty for the movements which he intended to make, whenever Marmont should pass the Douro, and offer him battle. The allies had no means to cross the Douro; and if marshal Marmont had not passed it, the French would not have neglected to lampoon the general, who, having advanced first from Fonte-Guinaldo, and afterwards from Salamanca, continued on the Douro, or retreated, without any ostensible motive; he would have been compared to Massena, looking at, and flying from the lines of Torres-Vedras. Marmont's sanguine disposition rendered an essential service to lord Wellington. On the 16th of July, the French general concentrated his army near St. Roman, whilst his advanced guard was passing the Douro, over

the bridge at Toro. The commander of the allies was, however, not duped; though he feigned a movement of his main body in that direction. But instead of marching against the French advanced guard, he took a strong position on the Guarena, a river which runs by Canizal, and falls into the Douro near Toro.

The French retreated from Toro in the night of the 16th, and on the 17th, they passed the Douro, over the bridge at Tordesillas. After having performed a march of more than forty miles, they took a position at Nava-del-Ray, on the same day. On the 18th, Marmont attacked Sir Stapleton Cotton, at Castrejon. The English retreated in good order to the Guarena; and their retrogade movement was protected by a strong column of cavalry, which lord Wellington sent very seasonably. Had it not been for this timely succour, the infantry of Sir Stapleton Cotton's detachment must have suffered very considerably, having to struggle against the whole French army. Lord Wellington may indeed be blamed for having kept Sir Stapleton Cotton's corps at too great a distance from the main army. Opposed to an abler general than Marmont, that corps would have been roughly handled, in spite of the celerity and sagacity of lord Wellington's measures to repair his mistake. Encouraged by the retreat of the English advanced guard, the French crossed the Guarena at Carteilo, to attack the left of the allies. General Clausel, who commanded the attacking column, was received at the point of the bayonet by general Cole's division, and obliged to fall back with the loss of 600 men, of whom 240 were taken prisoners. The allies lost nearly the same number, 54 of whom were prisoners On the 19th, Marmont fell back on his right, and moved his left forward, making demonstrations against the right of the allies. Lord Wellington judged the moment favourable for giving battle. He moved his army to the right bank of the Guarena, on the morning of the 20th,

and stationed it in the plain of Valesa. Marmont was somewhat confounded at the commanding attitude of the allies. He refused battle; and manœuvred again on his left, along the heights which border the Guarena. He crossed that river near Cantalapiedra, and encamped with his right at Villameda, and the left at Babila-Fuente. The allies followed this movement; and in order to be able to fight whenever a favourable opportunity should offer, Lord Wellington concentrated his whole army near Cabesa-Villosa. He placed a corps of observation at Aldea-Lingua, on the Tormes, to cover the right of his position. On the 21st, Marmont crossed the Tormes, and stationed himself on the heights of Calbarasa-de-Araba, occupying the road from Salamanca to Ciudad-Rodrigo with his left. It was this highly presumptuous position which caused the loss of the battle of Salamanca.

Lord Wellington had not for a single moment lost sight of his opponent: he had crossed the Tormes almost at the same time as Marmont. The advanced posts of the two armies began the action on the 22d, by the attack of two hills called Los-Arapiles, on the right of the position of the allies. The French remained masters of the most distant of these hills, their attack having been favoured by the nature of the ground, which concealed the march of the troops; and the great superiority of their numbers having rendered the resistance of the allies useless. lord Wellington's situation became critical through the loss of that post: for had he been defeated, he would have been obliged to defile under the artillery and musketry of the troops stationed on that height, which fully commanded the high road to Ciudad-Rodrigo. Wishing to leave nothing dubious that could be guarded against, his lordship manœuvred with the greatest caution, as if a Condé or a Turenne had been before him. He extended the right of the army to the heights, in the rear of the village of Arapiles, where he stationed

general Cole's division, and summoned some troops to the left of the Tormes, which had remained on the right, to observe a French corps posted at Babila-Fuente.

Towards two o'clock in the afternoon, Marmont opened a very brisk fire of artillery on the allies. He extended his left, and advanced a strong column to destroy that of the two Arapiles, occupied by the allies. General Packenham was ordered to turn the left wing of the French, whilst it was attacked in front by generals Bradford, Leith, Cole, and Sir Stapleton Cotton, with generals Clinton, Hope, and Don Carlos d'Espana, acting as reserves. This attack had been so well combined, and was performed with so much ability on the part of the leaders, and so much bravery on the part of the troops, that the French were overthrown in all directions. General Pack was less fortunate. He could not obtain possession of the Arapiles, which were occupied by the French: but his attack had the good effect of keeping the French at that point, for, without this diversion, they might have taken general Cole's division in flank, while it was sustaining a dreadful conflict on the heights, which it had succeeded in carrying. It was then that Sir Stapleton Cotton made a charge, as fortunate as brilliant, against a body of infantry, which was cut to pieces. The English lost in this attack general Le Merchant, who was killed on the spot. He was an excellent cavalry officer, who had always served with the most marked distinction, and his death was lamented by the French army. General Cole was severely wounded, and obliged to quit the the field of battle. His division, on being deprived of its worthy commander, was, for a moment, inclined to yield. Generals Beresford and Leith, who were to support it, were also wounded, and their troops deprived of their presence. The French re-doubled their exertions to retain the ground which they had lost, and would perhaps have suc-

ceeded, had not general Clinton come up to the assistance of the fourth division, when the battle soon resumed the same aspect in favour of the allies. But the right of the French, which served as a rallying point for the fugitives of the left and centre, still continued to resist.

Marshal Marmont had been wounded in the very beginning of the battle. A fragment of a shell broke his arm and one of his ribs, so that he was obliged to resign his command to general Clausel. This change was very fortunate for the French army, as Marmont, had he not been wounded, would have persisted in retaining the position of his left, and the whole wing would have been forced to lay down their arms. Clausel could but partially repair the marshal's errors. He succeeded in rallying the left and centre on his right. This manœuvre, performed in the presence of a victorious army, does great honour to general Clausel, who, by his coolness and presence of mind, saved the French from complete destruction. Though attacked on his right by the 3rd and 4th division of the allies, and on his front by general Clinton, he did not quit the field of battle, but when he could do it under the cover of night. This rendered the pursuit difficult and dangerous. General Sir Stapleton Cotton was inadvertently wounded by one of his own soldiers. The advanced guard of the allies crossed the Tormes on the 23d, and reached Clausel's rear-guard near the Serna, where the French cavalry abandoned the infantry. The latter, though attacked by victorious troops, opposed a vigorous resistance: but, forced to yield to numbers, they at length took to flight with great loss. The victory was chiefly the result of a charge of the German legion, commanded by general Bock, against the 69th French regiment, the squares of which were broken, and the men cut to pieces and dispersed. The loss of the allies on both days,

amounted to 5,220 men *hors de combat*. That of the French was at least equally considerable in killed and wounded. They lost, moreover, from 6 to 7000 prisoners, among whom there were one general, three colonels, three lieutenant-colonels, and 130 officers. The two armies were nearly equal in strength. They were rated at 50,000 men each. Clausel had, therefore, 36,000 men left, whom he led, by forced marches, towards Valladolid, through Penaranda and Arevalo. He was joined in his retreat by some troops of the army of the north. The allies arrived at Olmedo on the 28th, and occupied Valladolid on the 30th: but they were unable to overtake the army of Portugal, which continued its retreat to Burgos.

Lord Wellington was, on the 4th of August, at Cuellar, cutting off the communications of the army of Portugal with that of the centre under the command of Joseph. King Joseph had left Madrid on the 21st of July, and marched by the Escurial to Alba-de-Tormes. He had already reached Blanco-Sancho, near Arevalo, when he learnt Marmont's defeat. On the 26th he retrogaded as far as Espinar. Being ashamed to return to Madrid without having fought, he marched on his right to Segovia, where he arrived on the 27th. He wanted to make a diversion in favour of general Clausel, by drawing Lord Wellington's attention upon himself. His lordship was indeed well convinced, that the sad condition of Clausel's army would not allow that general to resume the offensive for some time; he therefore left Cuellar on the 6th of August, took Segovia on the 7th, and arrived on the 8th at Saint Ildefonso, where he collected the troops destined for the attack of Madrid. The passage of the Guadarama, a lofty mountain, very easily defended, was not even disputed. The allies did not come in contact with King Joseph's army till they reached Majalahonda; where a wrong manœuvre of the Portuguse cavalry caused three pieces of artillery

to fall into the hands of the French cavalry, which was about 2000 strong. The arrival of the English cavalry changed the face of affairs. The French evacuated Majalahonda, where the allies again found their three guns. On the 12th, they entered Madrid. Joseph had left this city the day before, with his little army. He took a position on the left bank of the Tagus, with his right at Aranjuez, and his left in the direction of Toledo. He had committed the fault of leaving in the Retiro a garrison of 2000 men, who capitulated on the 24th. What could have been his motive in abandoning these troops, at a time when soldiers were so invaluable to him? The Retiro was commanded by a colonel, who desired to capitulate, without the slightest resistance He was probably shown some ladders, and as his place was not so strong as Ciudad-Rodrigo and Badajoz, deemed it prudent not to expose himself to an assault. Lord Wellington granted him the honours of war.

The allies found in Madrid magazines of all kinds, about 200 pieces of ordnance, 900 barrels of gunpowder, and 20,000 muskets. As for the joy which the occupation of Madrid by the allies occasioned in that capital, an eye-witness, in a letter dated the 14th of August, expresses himself thus on the subject: "At length we have reached the summit of our hopes and wishes. Lord Wellington entered this city on the 12th instant It is not in my power to give you an adequate idea of the enthusiasm with which we have been received. The whole population came to meet us with tears of joy. Every individual, from the first to the last, embraced either the officer or the soldier, whom he could lay hold of, whilst we were marching. They invited us to their homes, and insisted upon our drinking wine with them almost at every corner of the streets. In the evening, the ancient government, the Cortes, and Ferdinand VII. were proclaimed anew in the midst of the acclamations of

the whole town. The soldiers of the Empecinado and del Medico appeared quite proud of parading in the streets of the metropolis. The illuminations were splendid, and consisted chiefly of torches placed on the balconies. All the palaces were hung on the outside with magnificent silk tapestry. It was indeed no small gratification for an Englishman to walk in the streets of the capital, and to be saluted by the Spaniards as the deliverers of their country.

The Madrid Gazette of the 14th of August, has the following article: "Brave and generous allies! you have not met in Madrid with the pomp due to your triumphs; but the people have unbosomed their hearts to you; those hearts so constant in adversity, and as firm in their resolves as tender and grateful."

The position which Joseph and his army occupied on the Tagus was about to be attacked by the allies, when his majesty evacuated Toledo on the 16th, and retreated by the road of Valentia, to join the reinforcements, which he had demanded of marshals Suchet and Soult. The latter, who possessed Buonaparte's entire confidence, refused to reduce his army. Marmont's reverse, and the conquest of Madrid, required the French troops to be concentrated, for the purpose of forcing the allies back to Portugal. Marshal Soult wrote to Joseph, "that there was no way of preserving his kingdom, but by abandoning Andalusia for a time; and that accordingly he should march to Madrid by Granada, Murcia, and Sanclemente." The siege of Cadiz was raised on the 25th of August. The artillery had been rendered unserviceable, and the ammunition destroyed. Soult retreated in good order, under the protection of his cavalry. The Spaniards occupied Porto-Real and Chiclana, on the same day. They displayed little energy in the pursuit of the French; in fact, they felt so happy in being delivered, that their joy absorbed all their

faculties, and even paralyzed their desire of revenge. Soult's rear-guard was left unmolested, except by Colonel Skerret, who had so valiantly defended Tariffa. He concerted means with, or rather gave directions to, General Cruz, to assist him in his intended attack of Seville. On the 26th the allies arrived from Castillajos, by the road of San-Lucar-La-Mayor, near Triana, a suburb of Seville. The Spaniards suffered much in attacking a redoubt, which defended the approaches of the suburb; Colonel Skerret had it turned by the English foot-guards. The French evacuated the suburb, and retreated to the town. They wished to defend the bridge, but were again overthrown by the grenadiers of the English guards, and closely pursued through Seville. They lost 200 prisoners, and retreated by the road to Cordova. This expedition was so well timed, that the rear-guard of the corps before Cadiz was obliged to march to Carmona by Utrera to join the French army.

General Ballasteros pursued the column, which was retreating to Granada, by Antequera. He obtained possession of that town, and had another slight combat at Loya; but the delights of Granada appeared to impair that activity, of which he had given so many proofs. He ceased to harass the French army, which he might have done successfully, by marching his left flank to the east of the Sierra-Morena. As there could be no doubt of Soult's advancing to Madrid, Ballasteros, who had no enemy to encounter at Grenada, ought to have rapidly moved to the left, during the march of the French towards Murcia, and taken a position on the Sierra de Alcaraz. As the allies were advancing from Madrid, Joseph's army, which was at La Roda, would have been placed between two fires. It would have been forced to move towards Cuenza, and its much wished for junction with the army of the south would have become extremely difficult;

whilst, by continuing to march on the Tagus, constantly fighting against Soult, Ballasteros would have formed his junction with General Hill, and the situation of the allies would have become uncommonly brilliant. Madrid also would havebeen preserved. Theappointment of lord Wellington to the command in chief of the Spanish armies, had wounded Ballasteros's vanity. He was so little on his guard, as to write to his government—"that he should not fancy himself a native of Arragon, if he did not state that he could not submit to a determination degrading to the honour of the Spanish armies." He was deprived of his command, and succeeded by general Virtues. But the mischief was done, and Soult was marching to Madrid unopposed. It seemed as if his name spread terror. Enraged at losing Andalusia, by the manœuvres of the English general, he longed for an opportunity to be revenged, and he took the greatest precautions to arrive in good order on the ground occupied by the allies.

To these events must be added the attack of Almeria, by general Ross, on the 14th of May. The fort, which was a protection for privateers, was destroyed. On the 11th of June, a skirmish took place in Estramadura, between the English cavalry of general Slade, and the French cavalry of general L'Allemand; the French fell back. On the 20th, the Spaniards were seconded in their attack of Lequito, by Sir Home Popham, who landed to destroy the batteries on the coast near Bermeo. On the 24th he landed at Argota, with a detachment of marines. Fort Galea was destroyed; the batteries of Argota and Bergona were rendered unserviceable. General O'Donel was defeated on the 22d of July, by general Harispe, at Castalla, with the loss of 3000 men. General Maitland was expected at Alicant with choice troops from Sicily. O'Donel disdained to share his glory with the English general, and received the chastisement

his presumption had incurred. The expedition from Sicily amounting to 6000 men, landed at Alicant on the 10th of August. On the 19th, Astorga surrendered to general Santocildes, the garrison, amounting to 1200 men, were taken prisoners of war. Clausel had detached general Foy with two divisions to relieve Astorga; the Spaniards, informed of his approach, had sent the garrison off as soon as the capitulation was signed. Bilboa was attacked by the French on the 14th of August, who were repulsed by general Renovales. On the 27th, the French general, Caffarelli, again attacked and took possession of it, whilst General Soulier was engaged in a sharp conflict with the marquesito, near Areta, where the Spaniards occupied a strong position, but which it was deemed prudent to abandon.

General Clausel having received reinforcements, had organized his army. On the 19th of August, he obliged general Anson to recross the Douro. The English corps of observation fell back to Arevalo. Lord Wellington left Madrid on the 1st of September, and on the 6th he crossed the Douro. The next day he entered Valladolid, which Clausel had evacuated, destroying the bridges on the Pisuerga, to retard the march of the allies. On the 16th his lordship reached Pampliega, near Burgos*. Three divisions of the army of Gallicia

* Burgos is the capital of Old Castile, and of considerable antiquity. The city is built on the declivity of a hill, from whence it slopes along the plain to the river Arlanzon, on whose right bank it stands, and whose streams flow close to its walls. Its castle was formerly of considerable strength, and stands on the brow of an adjacent hill, which the French had partly repaired. The town is large and irregular, and is surrounded by high walls, but very ill arranged. It is approached by several gates. Burgos was once a flourishing city, and continued in the full tide of prosperity from the end of the 16th, to the commencement of the 17th century; it was then the centre of an extensive commerce, and the residence of foreign merchants; it possessed considerable manufactories, and its croud-

joined the grand army, which entered Burgos on the 19th. The French had retreated to Briviesca, leaving in the castle a garrison of 2000 men, under the command of general Dubreton. General Pack, after having passed the Arlanzon, forced the French to draw in their out-posts; they only kept the horn-work. Lord Wellington thought that might be carried by force: and the following night general Pack established himself in it, taking about 500 prisoners.

His lordship wished to take the castle by assault. In the night of the 22nd, several columns attempted to scale it with ladders, but were repulsed. The besiegers were obliged to proceed regularly. On the 29th they blew up a mine under the outer wall. The breach was practicable; for a detachment ascended the rampart, but could not establish themselves on it. Another mine exploded on the 4th of October, and made a second breach. The besiegers, without losing a moment, established themselves in the outer works. The French redoubled their exertions; they made several sorties, which frequently proved successful.

On the 15th, the French endeavoured to raise the siege. General Clausel manœuvred on the 18th and 19th, as if he wished to give battle. Lord Wellington did not decline the offer. He placed

ed fairs displayed industry, riches, and prosperity; at that period it was the *entrepôt* of all the trade which was carried on from the interior of Spain with several ports of the ocean. The famous Segovian cloth was here received, and expedited to every quarter of Europe. From the begining of the 17th century, Burgos dates the declension of its trade, and the decay of its manufactures, the ruin of its commerce, and all the concomitant evils of sloth, indigence, and depopulation. In the days of its splendor, it contained 40,000 inhabitants, exclusive of foreigners, of whom there was always a considerable number; the population, at the time the French took possession, was not above 8000. Burgos is a most gloomy place, destitute of amusements, affords little society, and its cold humid climate is ill calculated to render it a salubrious residence.

his army in array; his right resting against the Arlanzon, and his left stretching out in the direction of Ibeas and Robiena. On the 20th the armies observed each other: and, towards evening, General Paget, with two divisions, repulsed a party which had moved to Quintana-Palla. On the 21st, Lord Wellington heard that Soult was approaching the Tagus, and threatened general Hill; he thought his junction with that commander indispensible, that he might not be drawn into a conflict with inadequate forces; for any decisive advantage obtained by the French in the open country, would have enabled them to renew the siege of Cadiz. All the movements of the allies towards Madrid and Burgos, must be considered as nicely calculated manœuvres to deliver the province of Andalusia from the presence of the French—a province which is as opulent, and almost as numerously inhabited, as the kingdom of Portugal.

The loss of the allies, before the castle of Burgos was certainly very considerable: but it did not amount to a fourth of that which a battle against Soult, in the south, would have cost, to obtain the same advantages which Lord Wellington now gained in the north. The siege of the castle of Burgos covered the French general, Dubreton, and his brave garrison, with glory. It was raised in the night of the 22d, and the whole allied army fell back to the Douro. It is impossible to coincide with the English general in the praises which he bestows upon the engineers entrusted with the construction of the works of the siege. Had the attack been properly conducted, the castle must have been in the possession of the allies on the 5th or 6th of October; and the beneficial consequences of this conquest may be easily enough appreciated. Caffarelli, defeated by Lord Wellington's troops, and kept in check by the garrison with which the army of Galicia might have provided the castle, would not have been able to cross the Douro for the

rest of the year. The flower of the English army, being thus disposable, would have moved by forced marches to the Tagus, and obliged Soult to fall back on Valentia; perhaps even to the left of the Ebro, in company with King Joseph and Marshal Suchet. On this occasion, too, every zealous friend of the sacred cause, which the allies were justly defending, asks—'What were the armies of Andalusia, of Murcia, of Valentia, and General Maitland himself, doing all this time?

The allies re-crossed the Douro on the 19th of October; the French occupied the opposite shore on the same day. The retreat from Burgos was conducted in excellent order. General Hill, having too great an inferiority of numbers to encounter Marshal Soult, quitted the neighbourhood of Madrid on the 1st of November, crossed the Guadarame, and marched to Arevalo, where his troops joined the grand army. On the 8th, the two armies took a position on the left bank of the Tormes. General Hill occupied the castle of Alba, and stationed general Hamilton, with his Portugueze troops, on the right bank of the Tormes. On the 9th, the advanced posts of the allies were attacked by the French, and driven back to Albe de Tormes. On the 10th, general Hamilton was attacked.—He had hastily constructed intrenchments, which contributed to the preservation of his post. After a brisk firing, the French retired to the neighbouring heights. The loss of the allies, since the raising the siege of the castle of Burgos, amounted to about 1000 men.

Marshal Soult formed his junction with King Joseph's army near Almanza, on the 29th of September. His advanced guard occupied Alvacete on the 3rd of October; and on the 6th it was at Minaya, near Sanclemente. The castle of Chinchilla surrendered on the 9th. The latter end of the month he marched, with numerous forces, to the Tagus, which, at that time of the year, might

have easily been crossed, to the prejudice of the allies, if they had persisted in defending its right bank. General Hill preferred a movement to the Jaroma. His right, which occupied Puentelarga, was attacked on the 30th of October by Soult's advanced guard. Colonel Skerret made a good defence. The allies withdrew in the night, and on the 4th of November they reached Arevalo on the Adaja, without having been pursued. The Spainsh divisions of Don Carlos Espana and the Count de Penne-Villemur zealously co-operated in the performance of general Hill's orders, from the time he left Estremadura, to his junction with lord Wellington.

From the 10th to the 16th of November, Soult was reconnoitring the positions in the vicinity of the Tormes; and instead of receiving the challenge of the allies, he intrenched himself on the heights of Mozorbes, sending detachments towards Ciudad-Rodrigo, to give lord Wellington some uneasiness respecting his communications with that place. On the 16th, his lordship encamped on the Valmuza. Soult followed with a strong advanced guard, but never pressed upon him. On the 17th, he availed himself of a favourable position to attack the rear-guard, under the orders of general Alten. A detachment of his light troops concealed themselves in a wood on the road to Ciudad-Rodrigo, and took general Paget prisoner, almost in the centre of the allied army, at the moment he was returning, alone, to inquire into the cause of the delay of the division which was to follow upon his; and which the bad roads had obliged to slacken its pace.

The whole French army did not amount to more than 70,000 men under arms; but they were full of enthusiasm, whilst the reverse experienced before Burgos had cooled the ardour of the conquerors of Salamanca. Lord Wellington, therefore, acted wisely by assigning winter quarters to his army, on the left banks of the Agueda. The French, who

were as much in need of repose as their opponents, were not long in following this example. They were quartered between the Douro and the Tagus. Joseph returned to Madrid; and marshal Soult fixed his head-quarters at Toledo.

The English government expected that fortune would continue to smile, and that it should soon hear of the total expulsion of the French from the peninsula. The event was, however, procrastinated by a negligence on the part of the commander-in-chief. Had he sent an officer to summon the castle of Burgos to surrender, general Dubreton, its governor, had resolved, ever since the affair of the 18th, to accept an honourable capitulation, to which he was in every respect entitled. His fine defence commanded the esteem of his opponents, and the admiration of all Europe. The loss of Burgos would have deprived the French of their principal *depôt* of ammunitions; for the armies of Soult, Joseph, Clausel, and Caffarelli, all hastened to send thither for cartridges, as soon as the siege was raised.

Thus the pride of a commander, the too-faithful organ of the sentiments of his masters, retarded for a year the deliverance of the peninsula. He even ran the risk of withering the laurels which he had gathered on the banks of the Tormes. Indeed, marshal Soult's circumspection from the 12th to the 16th of November, can by no means be approved. The retreat from before Burgos had disorganised the allied army; and it would have been easily routed by a well-directed attack. The prudence of the French general must, no doubt, be attributed to his recollection of the sanguinary battle fought at Albuera; and it is to lord Wellington's good fortune in not being defeated, during his retreat of 1812, that his lordship is indebted for his victory at Vittoria.

CHAPTER XXX.

General Observations.—Occupation of Salamanca by the Allies.—Battle of Vittoria.—Capitulation of Pancorbo.—Re-embarkation of Sir John Murray.—Relief of Tarragona.—Siege of St. Sebastian.—Battle of the Pyrenees.—Retreat of Lord Bentinck.—Destruction of Tarragona.—Passage of the Bidassoa.—Capitulation of Pampeluna.—Entry into France.

THE complete overthrow of Napoleon's gigantic power, the disastrous campaign of Russia, confirmed all enlightened observers in their conjectures respecting the deliverance of the peninsula. In 1808, lord Wellington had forced Junot to evacuate Portugal. In 1809, he defeated marshal Soult, in the neighbourhood of Oporto, and drove him back to Galicia. The sanguinary battle of Talavera, which obliged the French to concentrate their armies in order to save Madrid, freed Galicia, the Asturias, and the kingdom of Leon. Soult and Massena appeared before Cadiz and Lisbon in 1810; but the magnitude of the peril awakened the energy of the English, Portuguese, and Castilians. The population of the peninsula is rated at 13,000,000. In the beginning of 1808, almost the whole was conquered by the French; towards the latter end of 1812, half of that population had returned under their lawful authorities.

Asturias contains - - - -	360,000 souls
Galicia - - - - - -	1,350,000
Andalusia - - - - - -	1,796,000
Murcia - - - - - -	360,000
Estremadura - - - - -	400,000
Portugal - - - - - -	3,000,000
Total	7,266,000

Adding to this amount the fourth of the country, still occupied by the French, it became evident that within the space of four years, they had lost two-thirds of the peninsula, which circumstance justified the conjecture, that the campaign of 1813, if well conducted, must force them to recross the Pyrenees. It was not a leader that was wanting to the allies; they had an able one in lord Wellington: the obstacle to be overcome, proceeded from the jealousy of the secondary chief, who, blinded by false honour, paralysed the zeal of the inhabitants, the valour of the soldiers, and the talents of the commander, whom Providence destined to humble the pride of Napoleon. But the firmness of the Spanish government opened a brighter prospect. They learnt that the triumphs of the Russians would not have been complete, had not all classes of that valiant nation united round the throne, to chastise the rash imitator of Charles XII. An example so generous, excited in the allies of the south the noble resolution of a frank and cordial union to save their country. Whilst Alexander expressed his satisfaction at the exertions made in the peninsula, the Prince Regent of England applied to his parliament for the means of a vigorous prosecution of the war. He ordered lord Wellington's army to be reinforced, that his lordship might heighten the glory of the preceding campaigns by the total expulsion of the French from the territory of Spain. This event became still more probable, when Napoleon recalled 50,000 choice troops, together with marshal Soult.

On the 24th of May, the advanced guard of the allies moved to Salamanca. On the 26th, that city was occupied by general Fane, who pursued the rear-guard of the French, and took 200 prisoners, near Huerta. On the 27th and 28th, his lordship assigned cantonments to general Hill's column, between the Tormes and the Douro, and went to Miranda de Douro, where he arrived on the 29th, with

the column under the orders of general Graham, who commanded the left wing of the army. On the 31st, these troops took a position on the river Esla, their left resting on Tabara, communicating with the army of Galicia, and their right in front of Carvajales. On the 1st of June, the English huzzars entered Zamora; the following day they were at Toro; colonel Grant, under whose orders they fought, took 200 prisoners. Joseph was at the head of the French army, having under his orders marshal Jourdan, as his major-general. The French retreated in confusion. Valladolid was evacuated on the 4th; in it the allies found a great quantity of ammunition. On the 7th, their army crossed the Carrion, and on the following days it occupied both banks of the Pisuerga. On the 12th, general Hill attacked the position of Hormazas, which was defended by general Reille. General Ponsonby turned the right of the French, whilst general Hill was attacking the heights of Estepar.

The manœuvres of the allies were so ably performed, that the French became apprehensive for their line of operations, and crossed over to the left shore of the Arlanzon. In the night of the 12th to the 13th, they retreated to Briviesca. They blew up the works of the castle of Burgos. On the 15th the allies passed the Ebro. On the 26th, general Graham was attacked at Osma by very superior numbers, he remined, however, master of the field; the French withdrew under the apprehension of being cut off from the main body of their army, near Vittoria, whose number, after junction, did not exceed 60,000 men under arms.

On the 20th, the two armies were in presence of each other. The French had their left wing stationed on the heights between Arunez and Puebla de Arlanzon, their centre on a height which commanded the valley of Zadorra, and their right wing resting against Vittoria. This position was covered on the whole of its front by the Zadorra, which, at

that time of the year, was not fordable anywhere. The English commander made his arrangements for the attack on the following day. Early on the 21st, the allies, fully confiding in the talents, and above all, in the good fortune of lord Wellington, marched to the battle with an enthusiam that beggars description. His lordship had encouraged his troops with only these few words, that were eagerly circulated through the ranks :—"Remember, my friends, that you are the brothers of the heroes of Trafalgar; and that you have before you those whom you vanquished at Salamanca."

The right of the allies, under general Hill, was first engaged ; it drove the left of the French from the heights of Puebla, and took possession of Subijana-de-Alava. General Reille opposed, at first, but a feeble resistance. He thought it a false attack, intended to cause the centre to be weakened, and devoted his main attention to the left wing. When he perceived his error, he wished to stop the progress of the allies, but the favourable moment was past. The French left division fell back in confusion, and lowered the spirits of that which came to its assistance. Joseph and Jourdan, in person, encouraged the troops, to regain the village of Subijana, the key of their position. Lord Wellington, sensible that the occupation of this post gave him a decided superiority, sent orders to general Hill to keep it at any rate. The French made several attempts to retake it, but they were constantly repulsed.

Lord Wellington freed from all fears respecting the fate of his left, now moved his centre, which had hitherto confined itself to demonstrations. His troops passed the Zadorra. This manœuvre, which was boldly performed, frightened King Joseph, who did not await the attack, but ordered the troops in his centre to fall back on Vittoria. He wished, besides, to support his right wing, which was impetuously attacked by general Graham. The vil-

lages of Gamarra-Mayor and Abechuco, though obstinately defended, were carried by the English at the point of the bayonet. These villages served as *têtes de pont* of the river Zadorra, to keep possession of the high road from Vittoria to Bayonne. The French, deprived of them, lost their line of operations; and whilst the allies were attacking Abechuco, Joseph dispatched the choicest of his divisions to re-possess themselves of Gamarra-Mayor. but General Oswald repelled every attack. Being defeated on their whole line, and unable to retreat by the high road to France, Jourdan and Joseph took the road to Pampeluna. The intrepidity and numbers of the allies, left them no time for recollection. All the artillery, consisting of 150 pieces of ordnance, above 400 waggons, the whole baggage, and even the army-chest, became the prey of the conquerors! Joseph owed his safety to the swiftness of his horse. Capt. Wyndham of the 10th English huzzars, entered Vittoria at full gallop, when Joseph's carriage had just left the place. He pursued it with one squadron, overtook the carriage, and fired into it. The fugitive had only time to leap out of the coach, and mount his horse. He escaped under the protection of about 50 dragoons, who encountered the English hussars sword in hand.

The loss of the allies amounted to 4000 men *hors de combat*, and that of the French to about 6000. Lord Wellington had 80,000 men under arms. Joseph might have had more, had he concentrated his troops. General Clausel had been detached to the neighbourhood of Logrono, with two of the best divisions; and general Foy had recently been sent to the environs of Bilboa.

The defeat of Vittoria forced Buonaparté to send marshal Soult back to Spain: but the decisive blow had been struck. Ferdinand had re-ascended the throne on the 21st of June. On the 26th, the Spaniards invested the fortress of Pampeluna. General Hill pursued Joseph's army to France by the road

to Roncevalles. The left of the allies followed the high road to Bayonne, by Tolosa. General Foy, with 15,000 men, was overthrown near this town, which was carried by storm. On the 1st of July, general Graham established his troops on the ancient boundaries of Spain and France. The centre of the allies manœuvred against general Clausel, who, being unacquainted with Joseph's retreat, had shewn himself at Vittoria, the day after the battle, with about 20,000 men. His ability, and the ardour of his troops extricated them from their perilous situation; they safely reached Saragossa, whence they marched to Jacca and Oleron, without being once engaged, on their return to France. One of general Clausel's divisions was still at Jacca on the 14th of July. General Paris, who commanded it, lost no time in joining his corps, which formed the left of the French army, leaving a garrison of 800 men in the fort of Jacca.

The castle of Pancorbo had surrendered by capitulation to count d'Abisbal, on the 1st of July. Though the garrison amounted only to 700 men, they obstructed the communication between Vittoria and Burgos. The occupation of this position was as gratifying to lord Wellington as honourable to Count d'Abisbal. But his lordship's satisfaction was alloyed by unfavourable accounts of the expedition in Catalonia. The opening of Sir John Murray's operations against marshal Suchet had been splendid. On the 13th of April, the French attacked the allies in their fine position at Castalla. They were aware that they had to encounter troops more inured to war than the Spaniards. The English infantry used their bayonets with the intrepid coolness of old warriors: all the charges of the French cavalry proved ineffectual. The English general was going to act on the offensive; but Suchet, sensible that his troops, already fatigued with fighting, would be overthrown at the first onset, withdrew to Biar in the greatest order. During

the night he continued his retreat to Villena, and the allies resumed their position at Castalla. This advantage, gained over an army that fancied itfelf invisible, gave rise to the most flattering hopes. The conqueror of Tarragona, of Saguntum, and of Valentia, was, for the first time, flying before the allies.

The surrender of Fort Balagner on the 7th of June, deprived the French of the only road by which artillery could reach Tarragona, with the troops coming from Valentia It was Suchet's interest to make his arrival known to the garrison, who defended themselves with bravery. On the 12th, he lighted fires on the mountains, which could be seen at Tarragona. The flower of the army of Catalonia, under the orders of general Maurice Mathieu, also arrived on the same day at Arbos, a village about a day's march from Tarragona, when Sir John Murray deemed it expedient to re-embark, leaving his artillery and stores behind.

On the 13th, general Elio attacked Habart's division, near Careagente. The Spaniards lost 1500 men, 700 of whom were taken prisoners. This success damped the ardour of the allies, and probably induced lord Bentinck, who had superceded Sir John Murray, to return with his expedition to former position.

Satisfied with having relieved Tarragona, marshal Suchet set out in haste for Valentia, which he entered on the 24th. Lord Bentinck, having been delayed by contrary winds, Suchet determined to avail himself of the non-arrival of the expedition, and to defeat the allies, who remained on the Xucar; but they were apprised of his intentions, and returned to their intrenched camp at Castalla. A rear-guard, which had been left at the Col de la Olleria, was attacked at the point of the bayonet, and the troops were all killed, taken, or dispersed. The expedition sailed back to Alicant on the 24th. The troops were immediately landed, and took po-

sitions in the neighbourhood of Xixona, to act as a reserve to the camp at Castalla. This measure of lord Bentinck manifested his sagacity.

Ever since the beginning of July, general Graham had been besieging St. Sebastian: on the 17th, he took possession of the convent of St. Bartholomew. The occupation of this post enabled him to establish batteries against the rampart of the place, and these were so well served, that the breach was judged practicable. On the 22nd, an English officer summoned the governor to surrender, but he was not admitted. On the 25th, the besiegers made a general attack on three points, at the time when the ebbing tide left the foot of the rampart dry. The French expected this attack; and for the purpose of turning it to advantage, they had constructed inner intrenchments behind the breaches. Never had the English displayed so much intrepidity: their zeal deserved a better fate: they were killed at the musket's end. Major Frazer perished on the breach, with the flower of the Scotch grenadiers. This assault cost the allies 2000 men *hors de combat*. The French lost only 40. On the 27th, they made a sortie, and their joy was at its utmost height, when they saw that the allies had discontinued their operations. General Rey, commanding at St. Sebastian's, gives the following statement to the French minister of war, dated July 15, 1813:

"This morning the 25th, at four o'clock, the enemy took advantage of the pipe for the conveyance of the water from the fountain of the town, to establish a mine, with which he blew up the place of arms, which entered the covered way. Upon this signal, some columns of attack were put in motion. The direction of the fire from his batteries on the 24th, made me presume I should be attacked during that night or in the morning, and I made my dispositions accordingly. Every where the enemy was received with the greatest vigour; all who reached the breaches were killed or wounded; the columns which had distributed themselves in the covered way, were as quickly driven from and prevented from establishing themselves in it. This deed of arms does the greatest honour to the garrison of St. Sebastian, and I shall have the honour of

acquainting your Excellency, in my first report, of the names of the brave men who particularly distinguished themselves.

"I estimate that the English have lost from 14 to 1500 men, either in the breaches or in the covered way, from the fire of artillery, howitzers, and shells, which were thrown on them near the Fausse Braye of St. Jean's bastion, or on approaching the breaches. The English general asked me to bury his dead; I granted an hour: I have brought in 584 wounded, of whom 13 are officers, of those found upon the breach or at the foot of it, besides 237 prisoners. The enemy carried off his more distant wounded. The wounded assure us, the enemy had 50 officers killed, of whom the major-general commanding the first column was one."

Lord Wellington, seeing himself attacked by marshal Soult, made arrangements to concentrate his troops on the spot whither he foresaw that the French would direct their efforts. To supply Pampeluna appeared the object of marshal Soult's movements; the English commander, therefore, manœuvred to oppose it. On the 25th, he ordered general Graham to suspend the siege of St. Sebastian, and station himself near Renieria. By this arrangement, general Graham formed the reserve for the troops posted on the Lower Bidassoa, whilst a corps of observation kept the garrison of Saint Sebastian in check.

General Cole fought the whole day of the 25th with the French advanced guard at Roncevalles; at night he retreated to the neighbourhood of Zubiry. On the same day, general Hill was attacked in the Puerta de Maya, at the entrance of the valley of Bastan. The spirit of the French overcame every obstacle, and the allies were overthrown. The arrival of general Barnes covered the retreat to Iturita. The 82nd regiment made several charges with the bayonet, under the direction of general Stewart, who was wounded. Lord Wellington arrived on the 27th. General Cole had left his position of Zubiry, as being too much exposed, and had manœuvred to cover the blockade of Pampeluna; his right rested at Huarte, and his left was established on the heights near Villada. Sir Stapleton

Cotton's cavalry was on the right near Huarte, and two Spanish divisions formed the reserve. Marshal Soult attacked this position almost at the very moment that lord Wellington arrived; but was repulsed on the whole line, except the left. He took the village of Sorauren, on the road from Ostiz to Pampeluna, and all exertions to drive him from it proved unavailing. Soult remained master of that part of the field, and the two armies passed the night on the ground upon which they had fought.

Lord Wellington, convinced that battles are gained by determination and numbers, lost no time in reinforcing himself with all his disposable troops. On the morning of the 28th, he was joined by a corps of infantry, which he stationed on the heights near Sorauren. This movement gave some uneasiness to the French, who marched a large body of infantry out of the village; but they were soon forced to retreat with great loss. To repair this reverse, they attacked the whole line between Villaba and Huarte, and succeeded in breaking it on two points; but their successes were momentary. The English generals, Campbell and Ross, having been reinforced, resumed their respective positions; the rest of the day was employed in cannonading. General Hill, though briskly attacked, kept his position near Lezassa during the 28th. Lord Wellington, having ordered this column to fall back, and enter into the line with the troops near Pampeluna, the French followed this movement. When they reached Ostiz, they attempted to turn general Hill's left. Lord Wellington availed himself of this too-extended manœuvre, and assumed the offensive.

On the 30th, the French were attacked on the whole of their line. A lofty mountain, against which their right was resting, was carried at the point of the bayonet, by general the Earl of Dalhousie. General Pakenham took Sorauren. One only cry was heard along the whole line of the allies:—"Let us preserve, unsullied, the laurels won

at Salamanca and Vittoria!" Marshal Soult, astonished at such an obstinate resistance, was forced to yield to imperious necessity; he ordered the retreat, mortified at not having been able to throw into Pampeluna the convoy escorted by his army.

The loss of the battle of the Pyrenees, hastened the surrender of Pampeluna, and drove the French back to their territory. Spain became free, except Catalonia, and some strong places, in which Suchet had placed garrisons.

As the French government did not publish the reports of the battles of the 23th and 30th of July, marshal Soult's loss can be stated only by surmise, Lord Wellington rates it at 15,000 men *hors de combat*, and that of the allies at 6000. The circumstances in which the two armies found themselves, acting alternately on the offensive and defensive, induce the belief that this bloody conflict was equally fatal to both, and that each lost about 8000, killed, wounded, or prisoners. It is also but an act of justice to observe, that the generals and soldiers of both armies covered themselves with glory. If marshal Soult's star was for a moment eclipsed by that of lord Wellington, it was effected by prodigies of activity, courage, and devotion. The French commander had formed a plan worthy of his great talents, and would have executed it, had it not been for the double disadvantage of commanding an army recently beaten, against soldiers rendered invincible through their late triumphs. The heights of Maya, of Roncevales, and of Sorauren, prove that the valour of troops is subordinate to the ability of their general. Marshal Soult, though defeated, deserves high praise for the regularity of his marches, the precision of his attacks, and, above all, for his able retreat. As early as the 28th, he had sent back to France the canon and baggage, which might have encumbered the roads. This foresight is a severe reflection upon the loss of artil-

lery, experienced by marshal Jourdan on the 21st of June.

Ever since the beginning of August, the siege of St. Sebastian had been resumed, and carried on with renovated vigour*. On the 26th, the post of Santa Clara was carried by the allies. The breach being practicable, the assault was made on the 31st, at eleven o'clock in the morning. General Graham thus describes the murderous conflict:—

"The column of attack was formed of the 2d brigade of the 5th division, commanded by major-general Robinson, with an immediate support, of the following detachments:—150 volunteers of the light division, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Huns, of the 52d regiment; 400 of the first division (consisting of 200 of the brigades of guards, under lieutenant-colonel Cooke; of 100 of the light battalion, and 100 of the line battalions of the king's German legion, under major Robertson, and 200 volunteers of the 4th division, under major Rose, of the 20th foot, and having in reserve the remainder of the 5th division, consisting of major-general Sprye's Portugueze brigade, and the 1st brigade under major-general Hay, as also the 5th battalion of cacadores of general Brad-

* St. Sebastian, although situated immediately on the sea, is still completely covered from assault on that side, by the high round insulated hill on which stands the castle. Built on the low sandy neck connecting that hill with the continent, the town is defended on the west and the east by inlets of the sea, and the land front looking south is covered by regular modern fortifications. Such besides are the elevation of the castle impending over the town, and the confined breadth of St. Sebastian, that it is, or at least may be, fully protected by the castle. The defences of the land front would certainly not be neglected by the French, until the allies appeared before the place; and that their acknowledged skill in fortification had been well employed, we have lately had but too good reason to believe. It is not by land only that St. Sebastian is strong; it is still stronger on the sea, not only from the cover of the hill on which the castle is erected, but because the depth of the water is such, that large boats with ammunition, stores, and provisions, may, in the night-time, run along the shore, close under the steep lofty cliffs, where no blockading shipping can venture to approach. The long rolling waves continually setting in from the Atlantic into the angle of the bay of Biscay, formed by the north coast of Spain, and the west coast of France, compel shipping to preserve a considerable distance from the land.

ford's brigade under major Hill, the whole under the direction of lieutenant-general Sir James Leith, commanding the 5th division.

Having arranged every thing with Sir J. Leith, I crossed the Urumia, to the batteries of the right attack, where every thing could be more distinctly seen, and from whence the orders for the fire of the batteries, according to circumstances, could be immediately given.

"The column in filing out of the right of the trenches was, as before, exposed to a heavy fire of shells and grape-shot, and a mine was exploded in the left angle of the counterscarp of the horn-work, which did great damage, but did not check the ardour of the troops in advancing to the attack. There was never any thing so fallacious as the external appearance of the breach; without some description, the almost insuperable difficulties of the breach cannot be estimated. Notwithstanding its great extent, there was but one point where it was possible to enter, and there by single files. All the inside of the wall to the right of the curtain, formed a perpendicular scarp of at least 20 feet to the level of the streets; so that the narrow ridge of the curtain itself, formed by the breaching of its end and front, was the only accessible point. During the suspension of the operations of the siege, from want of ammunition, the enemy had prepared every means of defence which art could devise, so that great numbers of men were covered by entrenchments and traverses, in the horn-work, on the ramparts of the curtain, and inside of the town opposite to the breach, and ready to pour a most destructive fire of musquetry on both flanks of the approach to the top of the narrow ridge of the curtain.

"Every thing that the most determined bravery could attempt was repeatedly tried in vain by the troops, who were brought forward from the trenches in succession. *No man outlived the attempt to gain the ridge:* and though the slope of the breach afforded shelter from the enemy's musquetry, yet still the nature of the stone rubbish prevented the great exertions of the engineers and working parties, from being able to form a lodgment for the troops, exposed to the shells and grape from the batteries of the castle, and at all events, a secure lodgment could never have been obtained with occupying a part of the curtain.

"In this almost desperate state of the attack, after consulting with colonel Dickson, commanding the royal artillery, I ventured to order the guns to be turned against the curtain. A heavy fire of artillery was directed against it, passing a few feet only over the heads of our troops on the breach, and was kept up with a precision of practice beyond all example. Meanwhile I accepted the offer of a part of major-general Brad-

ford's Portugueze brigade, to ford the river near its mouth. The advance of the first battalion, 13th regiment, under major Snodgrass, over the open breach, and across the river, and of a detachment of the 24th regiment, under lieutenant-colonel M'Bean, in support, was made in the handsomest style, under a very severe fire of grape. Major Snodgrass attacked and finally carried the small breach on the right of the great one, and lieutenant-colonel M'Bean's detachment occupied the right of the great breach. I ought not to omit to mention, that a similar offer was made by the first Portugueze regiment of brigadier-general Wilson's brigade, under lieutenant-colonel Fearon, and that both major-general Bradford and brigadier-general Wilson had, from the beginning, urged most anxiously the employment of their respective brigades in the attack, as they had had so large a share in the labour and fatigues of the right attack.

"Observing now the effect of the admirable fire of the batteries against the curtain, though the enemy was so much covered, a great effort was ordered to be made to gain the high ridge at all hazards, at the same time that an attempt should be made to storm the horn-work.

"It fell to the lot of the 2nd brigade of the 5th division, under the command of colonel the hon. Charles Greville, to move out of the trenches for this purpose, and the 3rd battalion of the Royal Scots, under lieutenant-colonel Barnes, supported by the 38th, under lieutenant-colonel Miles, fortunately arrived to assault the breach of the curtain, about the time when an explosion on the rampart of the curtain (occasioned by the fire of the artillery) created some confusion among the enemy. The narrow pass was gained, and was maintained, after a severe conflict, and the troops on the right of the breach having about this time succeeded in forcing the barricades on the top of the narrow line wall, found their way into the houses that joined it. Thus, after an assault which lasted above two hours, under the most trying circumstances, a firm footing was obtained.

"It was impossible to restrain the impetuosity of the troops, and in an hour more the enemy were driven from all the complication of defences prepared in the streets, suffering a severe loss on their retreat to the castle, and leaving the whole town in our possession."

Marshal Soult ardently wished to relieve the garrison of St. Sebastian. On the very day when the assault was made, he crossed the Bidassoa with the greatest part of his troops, and made an impetuous attack upon the Spaniards, stationed on the heights of San-Mercial. Lord Wellington states, that the Spanish troops repulsed the French, and that the had no need to move the English divisions, which

formed reserves on the flanks of the Spaniards. Several partial engagements occurred on the front of the two armies. The English commander was obliged to leave the heights, between Lezaca and the Bidassoa; he retreated to those which are before the convent of San-Antonio, where he maintained himself. Marshal Soult still wished to try the fate of arms; but a mighty change had taken place in a very short space of time. A year before the Spaniards were the auxiliaries of Soult in Andalusia: they escorted his convoys, and even mounted his guard. How great must have been his astonishment, when he saw his troops repulsed by the very men to whom they had hitherto denied the appellation of soldiers!

General Rey proposed an armistice of a fortnight, promising, that unless he obtained succour within this time, he would at the expiration of it surrender to general Graham, on condition that he should return to France with the garrison. His proposal was rejected. A numerous artillery played upon the castle from the sea and land side, and caused much injury to the besieged. The governor, at length, hoisted the white flag, and sent an officer to obtain a capitulation. The garrison, amounting to 1700 men, were sent to England as prisoners of war.

Buonaparté, being alarmed respecting Spain, as marshal Soult had not been successful against the allies, demanded of the senate a levy of 30,000 men, to be taken from the last conscription in the departments adjacent to the Pyrenees. "This force," said Count Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angely, "*will be sufficient* to arrest that career of victory, of which the enemy has boasted *too soon;* to resume against him the attitude *which befits* France; to await *and prepare the moment* when England shall no longer dispose of the treasures of Mexico, which she *snatches* from Spain, and with which she *feeds* her commeree in both Indies, prolongs her *monopoly*

in Europe, supports at home her *exhausted* credit, pensions those she has *bribed*, and pays her *fatal* subsidies to the cabinet, which she *misleads*." The orators, who sent a million of men to the French armies at the beginning of the war of the revolution, did not use such ridiculous cant, such a true lamentation of Jeremiah. The conscripts, who succeeded in escaping, laughed at the decree. A few were arrested by the *gen d'armie;* they were taken partly to Soult's, and partly to Suchet's army.

Lord Bentinck had followed marshal Suchet since his departure from Valencia. As his lordship did not place much confidence in his troops, he did not wish to risk a battle. He passed the Ebro on the 21st of July, between Tortosa and the sea. The flotilla, which followed the movements of the land forces, facilitated that operation. On the 29th, the allies invested Tarragona, both on the land and sea-side. The works of the siege were begun on the 3rd of August. The garrison being too weak to attempt any sorties, kept up a heavy fire of artillery and musketry. General Decaen formed his junction with marshal Suchet on the 14th, in the neighbourhood of Villa-Franca.—They determined to march on the following day, to give battle to lord Bentinck; and force him to raise the siege. On the 15th, the French advanced guard met an English party in front of Nulles, and put them to flight. This skirmish apparently alarmed lord Bentinck; and he availed himself of the darkness of the night to retreat to Cambrils.

Marshal Suchet, who was afraid that the allies were too well acquainted with his real force, and that they would advance to give him battle near Tarragona, hastened to blow up the fortifications, and fell back to Barcelona. Thus the unfortunate town of Tarragona, after having been occupied by the French for the space of two years, was left a heap of ruins. Besieged, bombarded, and taken by storm, it became the prey of the flames; and

whatever escaped the first conflagration, disappeared through the explosion of the mines and the powder magazines*.

After the detruction of Tarragona, nothing remarkable occurred in Catalonia, except that lord Bentinck's advanced guard was surprised by marshal Suchet on the 13th of September, in the pass of Ordal. His lordship fell back to Tarragona;

* This was one of those famous towns, which only recalls the remembrance of their former grandeur, and serve as a comparison for the vicissitudes which may fall to the lot of the largest and most populous cities. It is very ancient and was of considerable importance before the Romans invaded Spain. Under the dominion of that power, it became the capital of the Tarragonese province. It was the residence of the consuls and prætors. The Scipios, Octavians, Augustus's, and Adrians, made some stay here; its antique walls, built by Scipio, were repaired by Adrian; it had all the advantages of Rome itself, a circus, palaces, temples, and aqueducts. Its power first declined under the Goths. Euric the king took it in 467, and his soldiers, in revenge for its resistance, destroyed it. It was again sacked by the Moors, who besieged it in 714, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. Louis d'Aquitane drove out the Moors in the year 803, but they recovered it. Raymond Berenger took it from them in 1150, and re-peopled it in the year following. Having afterwards fallen again under the yoke of the Moors, it was finally rescued from them by Alfonso el Baitalladie, king of Arragon, in 1200. Revolting with the rest of Catalonia against Philip IV. was besieged and taken by the troops of its sovereign in 1640. For years after is was besieged by the French, who were forced to raise the blockade; at the beginning of the 18th century, it followed the Austuras party; gave itself up in 1705 to the archduke, and opened its gates to the English troops, who, after the peace of Utrecht in 1713, set fire to the town when they left it. The conflagration destroyed part of the buildings, and its fortifications. This was the period of the fatal decline of Tarragona. In about 1800, it began to revive. The government had formed a new port, which would have been one of the finest in the Mediterranean, but the invasion of the French stopped all improvements, and plunged that ill-fated town into all its former horrors. The present town is situated on an eminence of rocks, elevated about 760 feet above the level of the sea, and near the river Francoli. It is surrounded with walls, and has its gates and two castles, which were blown up when the French evacuated it.

and the French returned to their positions near Barcelona.

Lord Bentinck sailed for Sicily the latter part of September; he was succeeded by general Clinton, who so effectually seconded lord Wellington at the battle of Salamanca. But Suchet, who was immediately acquainted with this change, did not wish to endanger the renown acquired by his former successes. He continued on the Llobregat; and general Clinton took a position in the neighbourhood of Tarragona.

Lord Wellington attacked the French whenever they afforded him the least opportunity for doing so successfully. The passage of the Bidassoa* was effected by general Graham, on the 7th of October. He met with a very obstinate resistance, particularly at the hermitage of the Rhune, situated on a steep rock. The French succeeded in keeping this post the whole night of the 7th, but on the 8th, at ten o'clock in the morning, it was carried by the English in the most brilliant style. The French, overwhemed by numbers, were obliged to retreat; and they had the mortification of seeing the enemy take a position on the TERRITORY OF FRANCE. The passage of the Bidassoa cost the allies 1000 men *hors de combat*, and the French lost nearly the same number. Pampeluna surrendered to the allies on the 13th of October, after having been blockaded four months and ten days. The garrison were taken prisoners of war, but they were treated with the greatest regard, because the civil authorities declared that "the conduct of the French towards the Spaniards had been conformable to strict discipline, and that the measures adopted by the governor, during the scarcity, oc-

* The Bidassoa is not a large river, but it pours down rapidly from the winding vallies of the Pyrenees, and soon after appears on the plain. At their base, it meets with the tide; to carry an army across the river, if the oppossing party are not wanting in themselves, is a most hazardous and dangerous undertaking.

casioned by the blockade, had been so excellent, that not one single inhabitant died*.

One of the consequences resulting from the victory, was the restoration of Ferdinand VII. A treaty was entered into at Valency, December the 11th, by the emperor of the French and Ferdinand, comprising fifteen articles, the purport of which was the independence of Spain, and the restitution of Ferdinand. The places occupied by the French were to be restored, in their present state. Ferdinand engages to maintain the integrity of Spain in all her possessions, particularly those in Port Mahon and Ceuta. The English and French troops are to evacuate the peninsula at the same time. Napoleon and Ferdinand agreed to maintain the maritime rights of Europe as they were settled by the treaty of Utretcht, and as they existed in 1792. All the Spaniards attached to Joseph were to be restored to their country. The garrison of Pampeluna, together with all the prisoners at Cadiz, Corunna, &c. to be restored. Ferdinand to pay his father and mother annually, 30,000,000 rials, and at the death of his father 2,000,000 of francs to his mother. A treaty of commerce between France and Spain, similar to the one before 1792. However ready Ferdinand was to sign and abide by the above treaty, the rapid advance of the allies in the north of France, added to the successes which still continued to follow the British troops, rendered it out of the power of the emperor of the French to insist upon any one of the above articles to be complied with.

Proud of having in his camp his royal highness the duke of Angoulême, lord Wellington crossed the Adour, that he might present this prince to the loyal inhabitants of Bourdeaux, who received, with enthusiasm, the nephew of *Louis le Désiré*, the hus-

* Pampeluna is the *Pomperopelis* of the Romans, and the *Pampelon* of other nations. It was founded by the great Pompey. Its modern fortifications are the work of the celebrated Vauban, who, for his virtues, talents, services, and misfortunes, well deserves to be handed down to posterity, as equal in glory with the illustrious conqueror of Mithridates.

band of the august daughter of Lous XVI. and presumptive heir to the throne of France.

Many severe skirmishes took place between the contending armies during the winter; generally ending with the advance of the allies into the French empire. The last of which was on the 12th of April, before Toulouse. It was a most sanguinary conflict, and the more to be deplored (as an armistice had been agreed upon between the allied powers and the French government, on the 3d of April, when the conservative senate declared the emperor had forfeited his right to the throne), which allowed sufficient time for despatches to have arrived, announcing that circumstance. The loss on the part of the allies, in the battle of Toulouse, amounted in killed and wounded to 4659.

Thus ended the impolitic and unnecessary war upon the Spanish nation; for it was no common struggle between two organized contending armies, but the legions of Napoleon marshalled against the people of Spain; and it is but justice to allow, that however Machevalian the character of prince Talleyrand may have been during his political career, it certainly is an undoubted fact, that the original source of disagreement between Napoleon and this personage, was the decided protest entered by the latter against the mad speculation of his former employer, at whose feet Spain had previously been prostrate; her resources, naval and military, as well as her finances, being alike at his disposal.

The Spanish struggle was, in fact, a war of extermination. It is well known, that none but the minister of the war department in Paris, and those serving with the army in Spain, who were witnesses of the weekly returns of the dead, could form any correct idea of the devastating system which hourly occurred to the unfortunate conscripts. The cost of lives to France alone, is computed at 360,000.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Reflections:—Spanish Constitution.—Reflections.

HAVING brought our history of Spanish affairs to the period of the extirpation of the enemy from the peninsula, and the re-assumption of the throne by Ferdinand VII. which took place in the begining of the year 1814, we shall close by giving its new constitution.

Considering how Spain was circumstanced at the time of its proclamation, three parts of its territory being in the hands of the enemy, and the remainder in a state of disorgnization, the reflecting mind must be astonished with the production.

A constitution so liberal in its principle—so well arranged as to balance of power between the governor and the governed—so calculated for the happiness and comfort of the people, has not been formed for many centuries. If the people are but true to themselves, and keep the sovereign to the fulfilment of his part, Spain, in the course of an age, will be one of the first countries in the world. Situated by nature to command, it wants but the genius of a free people to make it powerful.—It was enacted by the Cortes, proclaimed by the Supreme Junta, at Cadiz, on the 19th of March, 1812; re-proclaimed at Madrid March 4th, 1820, and sworn to by Ferdinand.—It has since been adopted by the Portugueze, and their sovereign, with the exception of some local articles.

It is consoling to the friends of civilization, that after the profuse sacrifice of human beings that these nations have offered at the shrine of *superstition* and *bigotry*, they should, as in the twinkling of an eye, destroy its altars and its priests. It appears on this occasion, as well as on many others, good has arisen out of evil. Much comparative freedom in future will also be enjoyed in the colonies and dependencies of these kingdoms.

SPANISH CONSTITUTION.

ON THE SPANISH NATION AND SPANIARDS.

On the Spanish Nation.

Art. I. The Spanish nation consists of all Spaniards of both hemispheres.

Art. 2. The Spanish nation is free and independent, and is not, nor cannot be, the patrimony of any person or family.

Art. 3. The sovereignty resides essentially in the nation, and the right of enacting its fundamental laws belongs exclusively to it from this same principle.

Art. 4. The nation is obliged to preserve and protect, by wise and just laws, the civil liberty and the property, besides all other legitimate rights, of all individuals belonging to it.

On Spaniards.

Art. 5. *First.* All free men, born and dwelling in the Spanish dominions, and their children, are Spaniards.

Secondly. Foreigners who may have obtained from the Cortes letters of naturalization.

Thirdly. Those who without them, reside ten years in a district, obtain it, according to the law, in any village or town of the monarchy.

Fourthly. Manumited freedmen, as soon as they obtain their liberty in Spain.

Art. 6. The love of his country is one of the principal duties of every Spaniard; and also to be just and benevolent.

Art. 7. All Spaniards are bound to be faithful to the constitution, to obey the laws, and respect the established authorities.

Art. 8. All Spaniards are also bound, without any distinction whatever, to contribute in proportion to their means, to the expences of the state.

Art. 9. Every Spaniard is also bound to defend his country in arms, whenever the law may demand his services.

ON RELIGION.

Art. 12. The religion of the Spanish nation is, and shall be perpetually, Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman, the only true religion. The nation protects it by wise and just laws, and prohibits the exercise of any other whatsoever.

ON THE GOVERNMENT.

Art. 13. The object of the government is the happiness of the nation; since the end of all political society is nothing but the welfare of all individuals, of which it is composed.

Art. 14. The government of the Spanish nation is a limited hereditary monarchy.

Art. 15. The power of making laws is fixed in the Cortes jointly with the king.

Art. 16. The execution of the laws is fixed in the king.

Art, 17. The application of the laws, in civil and criminal causes, is placed in the tribunals established by the law.

ON SPANISH CITIZENS.

Art. 18. Those are Spanish citiezns who descend from parents, both of the Spanish dominions of either hemisphere, and are settled in any town or district of the same.

Art. 19. That foreigner is also a citizen, who already enjoying the rights of a Spaniard, may have obtained from the Cortes special letters of citizenship.

Art. 20. To enable a foreigner to obtain from the Cortes such special letters, he must either have married a Spanish woman, or have brought into, and established in Spain, some invention, or valuable branch of industry, or acquired property, from whence he pays a direct contribution or tax; or has established himself in trade with, in the judgment of the same Cortes, an adequate and considerable capital, or has performed marked services for the welfare and defence of the nation.

Art. 21. Those also are citizens who are the legitimate offspring of foreigners settled in Spain, who, born in the Spanish dominions, have never quitted them without the leave of government, and who having completed their 21st year, have settled in any town of the same dominions, exercising therein any profession, office, or useful branch of industry.

Art. 22. The Cortes leave open the channels of virtue and merit to Spaniards reputed of African origin, on either side to become citizens; accordingly, the Cortes will grant letters of citizenship to those who may perform reasonable services to the country, or to those who distinguish themselves by their talents, diligence, and good conduct, on condition that they are the children, in lawful marriage, of fathers naturally free, that they are married to a woman also naturally free, and settled in the Spanish dominions, exercising any profession, office, or useful branch of industry with an adequate capital.

Art. 23. Citizens alone are eligible to municipal offices, and permitted to vote for them in those cases pointed out by law.

Art. 24. The condition or quality of a Spanish citizen is lost; in the *first* place, by obtaining letters of naturalization in a foreign country.

Secondly, Accepting employment under any other government.

Thirdly, By any sentence imposing severe or infamous penalties, as long as it remains unrevoked.

Fourthly, By residing five years following out of the Spanish territory, without a commission or leave of government.

Art. 25. The exercise of the same rights is suspended, in the

first place, in virtue of any judicial prohibition from physical or moral in capacity.

Secondly, In cases of bankruptcy, or of debtor to the public.

Thirdly, In the state of domestic servitude.

Fourthly, From not holding any employment, office, or known means of living.

Fifthly, From having undergone a criminal prosecution.

In the *sixth* place, from the year 1813, all those who claim the rights of citizenship must know how to read and write.

Art. 26. The rights of citizenship can be lost or suspended by the reasons pointed out in the two preceding articles alone, and by no others.

ON THE MANNER OF FORMING THE CORTES.

Art. 27. The Cortes consists in the union of all the deputies that represent the nation, nominated by the citizens in the manner that shall be mentioned.

Art. 28. The basis of the national representation is the same in both hemispheres.

This basis is the population, consisting of those natives who on both sides are aborigines of the Spanish dominions, and of those who may have obtained from the Cortes letters of citizenship, as well as those comprehended under the 21st article.

Art. 30. To calculate the population of the European dominions, the last census in 1797, shall be referred to, until a new one can be taken; and a corresponding one shall be made for the calculation of the ultramarine population, referring, in the mean time, to the latest and most authentic census or returns in existence.

Art. 31. For every 70,000 souls, composed as explained in the 29th article, there shall be one deputy to the Cortes.

Art. 32. The population being divided in different provinces, in case there should appear an excess beyond 35,000 souls, one deputy additional shall be elected in the same manner as if the number amounted to 70,000: but if the excess does not pass 35,000, it shall not be calculated on.

Art. 33. Should there be found any province whose population does not amount to 70,000 souls, but which is not under 60,000, it shall elect a deputy by itself: and, should it be less than this number, it shall unite with one adjoining to complete the number of 70,000 requisite for the right of election. From this regulation is excepted the island of St. Domingo; that shall name a deputy, whatever may be its population.

Art. 34. For the election of deputies to the Cortes, parish, district, and provincial meetings shall be held.

Art. 35. The parish elective meetings shall be composed of all citizens settled and resident in the district of each respective parish, including the secular ecclesiastics.

Art. 36. These meetings shall always be held in the Penin-

sula, the islands, and adjacent possessions, the first Sunday in October the year previous to the meeting of the Cortes.

Art. 37. In the ultramarine provinces they shall be held the first Sunday in December, 15 months before the meeting of the Cortes; the magistrates being bound to give previous notice of both.

Art. 38. In the parochial meetings there shall be appointed for every 200 inhabitants a parish member.

Art. 39. If the number of the inhabitants of the parish exceeds 300, although not amounting to 400, two members shall be appointed, if it exceeds 500, and does not amount to 600, three shall be appointed, and so on progressively.

Art. 40. In parishes, whose population is between 150 and 200, a member shall be appointed; and in those that do not amount to this number, the inhabitants of a neighbouring parish shall unite to elect the member or members corresponding.

Art. 41. The parish meeting shall select eleven *umpires of their numbers* by plurality of votes, in order that they may elect the parish member.

Art. 42. Should it be necessary in the parish meeting to name two parish members, it shall then select 21 umpires of their number; if three, 31: in no case the selected to exceed this number, to avoid confusion.

Art. 43. With due attention to the convenience of the small towns, it will be observed, that the parish with 20 inhabitants shall select one umpire; that with 30 to 40, shall select two; that from 50 to 60, three, and so on progressively. Those parishes with less than 20 inhabitants, shall unite with adjoining ones to elect *the select*, or an umpire.

Art. 44. The selected umpires from the parishes of the small towns thus elected, shall meet in the town most convenient, and amounting to 11, or at least 9 in number, they shall nominate a parish member; if they amount to 21, or at least to 17, they shall nominate 2 parish members; and if they are 31, or at least 25, they shall nominate three members, or correspondingly.

Art. 45. To be entitled to be appointed parish member, it is necessary to be a citizen, 25 years of age, an inhabitant, and resident in the parish.

Art. 46. The parish meetings shall be presided over by the chief of police, the mayor or chief magistrate of the city, town, or village wherein they may be held, with the assistance of the parish priest, to give the greater solemnity to the occasion, and if two or more meetings should be held in the same town from the number of its parishes, the chief of police, or mayor shall preside in one, the other in the other, and the aldermen shall pseside in turn in the rest.

Art. 47. At the appointed time of meeting, which shall be

in the council chambers, or in the usual place, the citizens having met, shall go to the parish church with their president, when shall be celebrated a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost, by the parish priest, who thall deliver a sermon corresponding to the occasion.

Art. 48. Church being over, they shall go back to the place they came from, when the business of the meeting shall commence, by nominating two examiners and a secretary among the citizens present, the whole with open doors.

Art. 49. The president shall then enquire if any citizen has any complaint to make of bribery or corruption in favour of the election of any particular person; and should it appear that there is, public and verbal explanation should immediately place. The accusation being proved, the guilty shall be deprived of both active and passive votes. Slanderers shall suffer the same punishment, and from this sentence no relief can be admitted.

Art. 50. If doubts are started among the numbers present, as to the qualifications required for voting, the same meeting shall decide what it thinks fit; and its decision shall be carried into execution, without redress, this once, and for this purpose only.

Art. 51. The umpires shall be immediately nominated, shall be done by each citizen pointing out an equal number of persons with the umpires required; for which purpose he shall approach the seats of the president, the examiners, and the secretary; the last-mentioned shall make out a list thereof in his presence, and in this and other acts of the election, no one can vote for himself under the penalty of losing the right of voting.

Art. 52. This business being over, the president, the examiners, and the secretary, shall examine the lists, and the last shall in a loud voice proclaim the names of those citizens who have been chosen umpires by the greatest number of votes.

Art. 53. The nominated umpires shall retire to a separate place before the meeting is dissolved, and conferring together, shall proceed to nominate the elector or electors of the parish, and the person or persons who shall receive more than half the votes shall be elected. Subsequently their appointment shall be published in the meeting.

Art. 54. The secretary will open the record, which the president and the umpires will sign, and a copy of the same signed by the same parties, will be delivered to the person or persons elected, to be evidence of their appointment.

Art. 55. No citizen can be exempted from these duties, from any reasons or pretext whatever.

Art. 56. In the parish meeting no citizen shall appear with arms.

Art. 57. The appointment of the electors being proved, the

meeting shall immediately dissolve: and whatever other public act it may attempt, shall be null and void.

Art. 58. The citizins who formed the meeting shall go to the parish church, where a solemn *Te Deum* shall be chaunted. The elector or electors in procession, between the president, the examiners, and the secretary.

Art. 59. The elective meetings of the district shall be composed of the parochial electors, who shall assemble at the head of each district, for the purpose of nominating the elector or electors, who must proceed to the capital to elect the deputies to the Cortes.

Art. 60. These meetings shall always be held in the peninsula, the islands, and adjacent possessions, on the first Sunday in November, of the year preceding the meeting of the Cortes.

Art. 61. In the ultramarine provinces, they shall be held the first Sunday in January succeeding to that December wherein the parish meetings took place.

Art. 62. To ascertain the number of electors that each district is to appoint, the following rules must be observed.

Art. 63. The number of the district electors shall be in proportion of three to one of the deputies to be elected.

Art. 64. If the number of the districts of the province should be greater than that of the electors required by the preceding article for the nomination of the deputies to be named, nevertheless one elector shall be nominated for each district.

Art. 65. If the number of districts should be less than that of the electors requisite, each district shall elect one, two, or more, until the necessary number is completed; but should one elector even be wanting, the district of the greatest population shall nominate him; if another should still be deficient, the district next in population shall appoint him, and so on successively.

Art. 66. The census determines the number of deputies for each province, and the number of electors to each of its districts.

Art, 67. The elective meetings of the district shall be presided at by the chief of police, or the chief magistrate of the chief town of the district, to whom the parochial electors shall present themselves with the warrant of their election, that their names may be inserted in the book of the records of the meeting.

Art. 68. On the appointed day, the parish electors shall assemble, with the president, in the council chambers, with open doors, and shall commence their proceedings by nominating a secretary and two examiners among themselves.

Art. 69. Subsequently, the electors shall present the certificates of their nomination for the examination of the secretary and the scrutinizers, who should the following day declare if they are or not according to law. The certificates of the secretary and the scrutineers shall be examined by a committee

of three individuals of the meeting, appointed for this purpose, who shall on the following day declare their information thereon.

Art. 70. On this day, the parish electors being met, the inquiries on the certificates shall be read; and should there be any doubts on any of them, or on the electors, by defect of any of the required qualifications, the meeting shall decree definitively, and at once, what it thinks fit, and its resolution shall be carried into effect without appeal.

Art. 71. This business being over, the parish electors shall go to the chief church with their president, where a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost shall be chaunted by the clergyman of the highest rank present, who shall deliver an appropriate sermon.

Art. 72. After this religious ceremony, they shall return to the council chambers, and the electors taking their seats, without any regard to precedence, the secretary shall read this chapter of the Constitution; and subsequently the president shall make the same enquiry as mentioned in the 49th article, and the result thereof shall be strictly observed.

Art. 73. Immediately afterwards, the appointment of the elector or electors of district shall be proceeded with, electing them one by one, and in secret scrutiny by means of tickets, in which the name of every one elected is written down.

Art. 74. The voting being over, the president, the secretary, and the examiners, shall see how many votes each candidate has; and he who has received at the least, one beyond the half thereof, shall be elected, the president publishing each election. If no one should have received the absolute plurality of votes, the two who shall have obtained the greatest number shall undergo a second scrutiny, and he that receives the greater number of votes shall remain elected. In cases of even numbers, decision shall be made by ballot.

Art. 75. To an elector of district, it is necessary to be a citizen, in exercise of his rights, 25 years of age; settled and resident in the district, either a layman, or of the secular clergy; the citizens who compose the meeting being eligible, or those not present thereat.

Art. 76. The secretary shall produce the record which the president and the scrutineers shall sign; and a copy thereof, signed by the same, shall be delivered to the person or persons elected, as evidence of their appointment. The president of this meeting shall forward another copy, signed by himself and the secretary, to the president of the provincial meeting, who shall notify the election in the public papers.

Art. 77. In the elective meetings of district, every particular shall be observed which is ordained for the elective parish meetings.

Art. 78. The elective meetings of the province shall consist of the electors of all its districts, who shall assemble in the ca-

pital, for the purpose of naming the appropriate deputies to the Cortes, as representatives of the nation.

Art. 79. These meetings shall always be held in the peninsula, and adjacent islands, the first Sunday in December, in the year preceeing the meeting of the Cortes.

Art. 80. In the provinces beyond sea, they shall be held on the second Sunday in March of the same year in which the district meetings are held.

Art. 81. These meetings shall be presided over by the chief of police, of the capital of the province, to whom the district electors shall present themselves with the warrant of their election, that their names may be entered in the book of records of the meeting.

Art. 82. On the appointed day, the district electors shall assemble with the president in the council chambers, or in any building more adapted to so solemn an occasion, with open doors; and shall commence their proceedings by naming from a plurality of votes a secretary and two scrutineers among themselves.

Art. 83. If a province should not desire to send more than one deputy, five electors at least must unite in his nomination, this number being distributed among the districts into which it is divided, or forming districts for this purpose only.

Art. 84. The four chapters of this Constitution that relate to the elections shall be read. Afterwards the certificates of the elections made in the chief places of the district, forwarded by their respective presidents, shall be read. The electors shall also present the certificates of their nomination, to be examined by the secretary and scrutineers, who should the following day declare if they are, or are not according to law. The certificates of the secretary, and the scrutineers, shall be examined by a committee of three individuals of the meeting, that shall be appointed for this purpose to give information thereon, on the succeeding day.

Art. 85. The district electors being assembled, the informations on the certificates shall be read, and should there be any doubts thereon, or on the electors, by defect of any of the required qualifications, the meeting shall decree definitively, and at once, what it thinks fit, and its resolution shall be carried into effect without appeal.

Art. 86. Subsequently, the district electors shall proceed to the cathedral, or chief church, where a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost shall be chaunted, and the bishop, or in his absence the clergyman of the highest rank, shall deliver a sermon suited to the occasion.

Art. 87. This religious ceremony being over, they shall return to the place they went from, and with open doors, the electors taking their seats without any regard to precedence, the president shall make the same enquiry as pointed out in

the 49th article, and the result thereof shall be strictly observed.

Art. 88. Susequently, the electors who are present shall proceed to the election of a deputy or deputies, one by one, approaching the seats of the president, the scrutineers, and the secretary; and the last shall insert in a list in their presence, the name of the person whom every one elects. The secretary and scrutineers shall give their votes the first.

Art. 89. The voting being over, the president, the secretary, and the examiners, shall see how many votes each candidate has, and he who has received at least one beyond the half thereof, shall be elected. If no one should have received an absolute plurality of votes, the two who shall have the greatest number, shall undergo a second scrutiny, and he who obtains a majority shall remain elected. In cases of even numbers, the decision shall be made by drawing lots, and the choice of each being finished, the president shall make it public.

Art. 90. After the election of the deputies, that of the deputies of reserves shall be proceeded on, in the same manner and form, and their number in each province shall be the third part of that of the deputies. If any province should elect only one or two deputies, it shall nevertheless, elect one deputy of reserve. These shall proceed to the Cortes whenever the death of the original member is ascertained, or his inability in opinion of the same, at whatever period one or the other circumstances is ascertained after his election.

Art. 91. To be a deputy to the Cortes it is requisite to be a citizen in the exercise of his rights, 25 years old, born in the province, or settled therein with a residence of at least seven years, whether a layman or secular ecclesiastic, those who compose the meeting, or those not present thereat being eligible.

Art. 92. It is besides required, to be eligible as a deputy to the Cortes, to possess a proportionate annual income, proceeding from real personal property.

Art. 93. The order of the preceding article is suspended until the Cortes in their future meetings declare the period to have arrived in which it shall take effect, pointing out the proportion of income, and the description of property from which is must result, and what they shall thenceforward decree, *shall be regarded as constitutional*, in the same manner as if it was herein so expressed.

Art. 94. If it should so happen that the same person should be elected by his native province, and by that in which he resides, the latter shall hold good, and for his native province the deputy of reserve shall proceed to the Cortes.

Art. 95. The secretaries of state, the councellors of state, and those fulfilling offices of the royal household, are ineligible as deputies to the Cortes.

Art. 96. Neither can any foreigner be eligible as deputy to

the Cortes, although he may even have obtained letters of citizenship from the Cortes.

Art. 97. No public officer employed by government shall be elected deputy to the Cortes by the province in which he discharges his trust.

Art. 98. The secretary will record the elections which the president and all the electors will sign together with him.

Art. 99. Subsequensly, all the electors, without any excuse, shall grant to all and to each of the deputies ample powers, according to the following form, delivering to each deputy his corresponding commission to present himself to the Cortes.

Art. 100. The commission shall run in these forms, viz. In the city or town of——— on —— day of the month of——— ——— in the year——. Messrs. . . . . (*Here must be inserted the names of the president, and of the district electors, that form the elective meeting of the provinces,*) having assembled in the council chamber, declared before me the underwritten attorney, and other witnesses expressly summoned, that having proceeded according to the political constitution of the Spanish monarchy, to nominate the parish and district electors, with all the solemnity prescribed by the same, as it appeared from the original proper certificates which were produced, being assembled, the declared electors of the provinces of——— on —— day of——— this present year, they had appointed the deputies for this province to the Cortes, and that Messrs. A. B C. were accordingly elected deputies for the same, as it appears by the public record signed by A. B. that in consequence they grant ample powers to all and each, jointly and separately, to fulfil and discharge their exalted duties in their stations, that they may, with the other deputies to the Cortes, as representatives of the Spanish nation, agree and determine on whatever they may deem of importance to the general good, in the exercise of the powers entrusted to them by the constitution, and within its prescribed limits, without power to derogate, alter, or vary, in any manner whatever, any articles thereof, under any pretext; and the electors become bound for themselves, and in the name of all the inhabiants of this province, by virtue of the powers granted them as electors appointed for this purpese, to hold good, to obey, and fulfil whatever such deputies to the Cortes may determine, and shall be decreed by them according to the political constitution of the Spanish monarchy. Thus they declare and authorise Messrs. A. B. being witnesses present, which, with the gentlemen authorizing, they also sign; which I attest.

Art. 101. The president, scrutineers, and secretary, shall immediately forward a copy of the record signed by themselves, of the elections to the permanent committee of the Cortes, and shall make public the elections through the medium of the press, and send a copy to each town of the province.

Art. 102. To indemnify the deputies for their expences, the respective provinces shall contribute such daily allowances as the Cortes, in the second year of each general deputation shall point out for the deputation that is to succeed it; and to the deputies from beyond sea, such allowances shall besides be granted, in the opinion of their respective provinces, sufficient for the expences of their voyage going and returning.

Art. 133. For the provincial elective meetings, every thing must be observed that is prescribed in the 55th, 56th, 57th, and 58th articles, with the exception of what results from the 328th article.

Art. 104. The Cortes shall assemble every year in the capital of the kingdom, in a building appropriated to this object alone.

Art. 105. Whenever they may find it convenient to remove to any other place, they have power so to do, to any town not farther distant from the capital than twelve leagues, and that two thirds of the deputies present agree in the removal.

Art. 126. The session of the Cortes shall continue three months in each year, beginning on the 1st of March.

Art 107. The Cortes may, moreover put off their sessions to another month in two cases only; the first, at the request of the king; secondly, if they shall think it necessary by a resolution of two-thirds of the deputies

Art. 108. The deputies shall be renewed entirely every two years.

Art. 109. If war or the occupying of any part of the territory of the monarchy by the enemy, shall prevent all or any of the deputies from one or more provinces presenting themselves in due time, their places shall be supplied by the preceding deputies from the respective provinces, by drawing lots amongst themselves until the requisite number is completed.

Att. 110. The deputies cannot be elected a second time without another deputation intervening; (that is, a member is not eligible to two successive parliaments.)

Art. 111. On the arrival of the deputies at the capital, they must present themselves to the permanent committee of the Cortes, who will enter their names, and that of the province which has elected them, in a register of the secretary of the same Cortes.

Art. 112. On the 5th of February, in the year of the renewal of the deputies, the first preparatory meeting shall be held with open doors, taking for president whoever may be in that situation with the permanent committee, and the secretaries and scrutineers, whoever the same committee may name among the remaining individuals who compose it,

Art. 113. To this first meeting, all the deputies shall present their qualifications, and two committees shall be named by a majority of votes, one of five individuals to examine the autho-

rities of all the deputies, the other of three, to examine those of the five individuals of the committee before mentioned.

Art. 114. On the 20th day of the same February, the second preparatory meeting shall also be held with open doors, in which the two committees shall report on the legitimacy of authorities after having seen copies of the records of the provincial elections.

Art. 115. In this meeting, and others that may be necessary until the 25th, shall be definitively settled, by a majority of votes, any doubts that may arise on the legitimacy of the authorities, and the qualifications of the deputies.

Art. 116. In the following year after the renewal of the deputies, the first preparatory meeting shall be held on the 20th of February, and continued if necessary to the 25th, to determine, in the manner and form expressed in the three preceding articles on the legitimacy of the authorities of the deputies who now present themselves.

Art. 117. The last preparatory meeting shall be held on the 25th of February, in every year, at which all the deputies shall take the following oaths on the holy Evangelists!

"I swear to defend and preserve the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion, without admitting any other into the kingdom.

"I swear religiously to guard and keep protected the political constitution of the Spanish Monarchy, sanctioned by the general and extraordinary Cortes of the nation, in the year 1812.

"I swear to conduct myself well and faithfully in the trust the nation has committed to my care, considering entirely the good and prosperity of the nation. If thus I act may God reward me; and if not, may God be my judge."

Art. 118. Subsequently the same deputies shall proceed to elect by ballot and by an absolute majority of votes, a president, vice president, and four secretaries; the Cortes shall then be held constituted, and formed, and the permanent committee be entirely dissolved.

Art. 119. On the same day a committee of twenty-two individuals shall be nominated, and two of the secretaries, to acquaint the king of the assembly of the Cortes, and of the president they have elected, for the purpose of learning his majesty's intentions of assisting at the Cortes, to be held on the first of March.

Art. 120. If the king should be away from the capital, this communication shall be made to him in writing, and the king shall acknowledge it in the same manner.

Art. 121. The king will attend personally at the opening of the Cortes, and if there should be any impediment thereto, the president shall open the assembly on the day appointed, and cannot on any account defer it to another. The same formalities shall be observed at the end of the sessions.

Art. 122. The king shall enter the hall of the Cortes without a guard, and shall be accompanied by those persons only, which the etiquette for the reception and departure of the king (which the regulations for the interior government of the Cortes shall prescribe) shall determine.

Art. 123. The king will make a speech, in which he will lay before the Cortes what he may think proper, and to which the president shall answer in general terms. If the king should not attend, he will send his speech to the president, by whom it shall be read to the Cortes.

Art. 124. The Cortes cannot deliberate in the presence of the king.

Art. 125. In those cases where the secretaries of state have any communications to make to the Cortes in the name of the king, they may attend the debates when, and in such manner as the Cortes may think fit, and may speak therein, but they cannot be present on proceeding to the vote.

Art. 126. The sessions of the Cortes shall be public, and in those cases only that require reserve, can a secret sitting be held.

Art. 127. In the discussions of the Cortes, and in every thing besides, that appertains to its interior order and government, the regulations shall be observed, that these general and extraordinary Cortes shall order, without obstruction to any alterations that the succeeding assembly may judge proper to make therein.

Art. 128. The deputies shall be inviolable for their opinions, and in no time or case, nor by any authority can they be recriminated for them. In criminal cases, they cannot be tried except by the tribunal of the Cortes, in the mode and form which the regulations of the interior government thereof shall prescribe. During the sitting of the Cortes, and one month afterwards, the deputies cannot be sued at civil law, nor levied upon for debt.

Art. 129. During the period of his deputation, no deputy can admit of for himself, or solicit for another, any employment or grant from the king, nor any degree of increased rank, as there must be no step ladder in his respective career.

Art. 130. He cannot, during the period of his deputation, and one year afterwards, obtain for himself, nor solicit for another, any pension or dignity whatever, that may proceed from a grant of the king.

Art. 131. The powers of the Cortes are

1. To propose and decree the laws: and to interpret and alter them on necessary occasions.
2. To take an oath to the King, to the Prince of Asturias, and to the Regency, as is pointed out in their places.
3. To determine any doubt of fact or right, that may occur in order of the succession to the crown.
4. To elect a Regency or Regent of the kingdom, when the constitution requires it, to point out the limits within which the Regency or the Regent must exercise the royal authority.

5. To make the public acknowledgment of the Prince of Asturias.
6. To nominate a guardian to the King minor, when the Constitution requires it.
7. They are to approve, previous to ratification, the treaties of offensive alliance, of subsidies, and the particulars of commerce.
8. To permit or refuse the admission of foreign troops into the kingdom.
9. To decree the creation and suppression of offices in the tribunals established by the Constitution, and also the creation or abolition of public offices.
10. To fix every year, on the proposal of the King, the land and sea forces, determining the establishment in time of peace, and its augmentation in time of war.
11. To issue ordinances to the army, the fleet, and to the national militia, in all their branches.
12. To fix the expences of the public administration.
13. To establish annually the taxes.
14. To take property upon loan, in cases of necessity, upon the credit of the nation.
15. To approve the division of the taxes among the provinces.
16. To examine and approve the accounts of the application of the public fund.
17. To establish the custom-houses and duties to be paid there.
18. To order what is expedient for the administration, preservation, and alienation of the national funds.
19. To determine the value, the weight, the standard, the figure, and description of money.
20. To adopt the system it may judge most convenient and just of weights and measures.
21. To promote and encourage all kinds of industry, and to remove the obstacles that paralize it.
22. To establish a general Plan of public instruction in the whole monarchy, and approve that which is intended for the education of the Prince of Asturias.
23. To approve of the general regulation for the police and health of the kingdom.
24. To protect the political liberty of the press.
25. To render real and effective the responsibility of the secretaries of state, and other persons in public employ.
26. Lastly, it belongs to the Cortes to grant or refuse its consent in all those cases and acts which the Constitution points out necessary.

Art. 132. Every deputy possesses the power of submitting to the Cortes the sketch of new laws, in writing, and explaining the reasons on which they are found.

Art. 133. Two days at least after the presentation and reading of a prospectus of a new law, it shall be read a second time, and the Cortes shall deliberate whether it is to be admitted or not to discussion.

Art. 134. Admitted to discussion, if the importance of the matter should require, in the opinion of the Cortes, that it should go previously to a committee, so shall it be determined.

Art. 135. Four days at least after the prospectus is admitted to discussion it shall be read a third time and a day may be appointed to open the debate thereon.

Art. 136. On the day appointed for the debates, it shall examine the subject fundamentally, and in all its bearings.

Art. 137. The Cortes shall decide when the matter is sufficiently discussed, and when decided that it has been, it shall be resolved whether there is reason or not for proceeding to the vote.

Art. 138. If it be decided that there is ground for proceeding to the vote, it shall be done immediately, admitting or rejecting in toto or in part the project, or varying and modifying it, according to the observations that have been made in its discussion.

Art. 139. Decision shall be given by an absolute majority of votes, and it shall be necessary that there be present at least one half and one more of the total number of the deputies composing the Cortes.

Art. 140. If the Cortes reject a project of law in any stage of its examination, or resolve that it should not be put to the vote, it cannot be again proposed in the same year.

Art. 141. If it should be adopted, it shall be published in a duplicate in form of law, and shall be read in the Cortes, which being done, and both the original copies being signed by the President and two Secretaries, shall be immediately presented to the King by committee.

Art. 142. The king holds the right of sanction to the laws.

Art. 143. The king gives his sanction in this form, with his sign manual. "Let this be made public as the law."

Art. 144. The king refuses his assent in this form, equally with his sign manuel. "Let it return to the Cortes," giving at the same time a statement of his reasons for refusing it.

Art. 145. The king may exert this prerogative for thirty days; if within that time he has neither given nor refused his assent, it shall be understood that he has given it, and will in fact give it.

Art. 146. The assent being given or refused by the king one of the two original copies shall be returned to the Cortes, to be reported upon. This original shall be kept in the archives of the Cortes, and the duplicate shall remain at the disposal of the king.

Art. 147. If the king refuses his assent, the same matter cannot be again agitated in the Cortes in the same year, but it may in succeeding ones.

Art. 148. If the same project of new law should be proposed in the Cortes, the following year, admitted, approved, and presented to the king, he may give or refuse his assent a second

time, according to the 143rd and 144th articles; in the latter case, the subject cannot be again proposed in the same year.

Art. 149. If the same project of new law should be proposed a third time, admitted and approved in the Cortes of the following year, it shall be understood that the King gives his assent, and on presenting it to him, he will give it, according to the 143rd Article.

Art. 150. If within the period of thirty days, in which the King is to give or refuse his assent, the day should arrive when the Cortes should terminate their sessions, the King shall give or refuse it in the first eight days of the sessions of the following Cortes; and should this period pass without his giving it, shall be understood that it is given, and that he will give it in the prescribed form, but if the King should deny his assent, this Cortes may discuss the same business.

Art. 151. Although, after the King's refusal of a proposed new law, one or more years should elapse, without the same being again proposed, as it may happen to be brought forward in the time of the same deputation that adopted it the first time, or in the time of the two deputations that immediately follow it, the same project shall require the assent of the King, as explained in the three preceding articles; but if, during the continuance of the three deputations before-mentioned, it should not be again proposed, although it is afterwards produced at a proper time, it shall be regarded as an entire new matter.

Art. 152. If the second or third time that the project is proposed within the period fixed by the preceding article, it should be rejected by the Cortes, at whatever period it may be subsequently brought forward, it shall be regarded as new matter.

Art. 153. The laws are altered with the same formalities, and with the same proceedings that enact them.

ON THE PROMULGATION OF THE LAWS.

Art. 154. The law being published in the Cortes, notice thereof shall be given to the King, or the purpose of its immediate and solemn publication.

Art. 155. The King in proclaiming the laws, will use the following form. N. (The name of the King) by the grace of God, and the Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy, King of Spain, to all to whom these presents shall come, know ye, that the Cortes have decreed, and we sanction the following, (insert the literal text of the law) whereby we command all tribunals, justices, chiefs, govenors, and all others in authority, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, of whatever rank and dignity, to obey and make obeyed, to fulfil and execute the present law in all its parts, you shall carry it into effect, direct its printing, publication, and circulation. Let it be addressed to the Secretary of State, according to its nature.

Art. 156. All the laws shall be circulated by command of

the King, by the several Secretaries of State, directly to all, and every one, of the supreme tribunals and of those of the provinces, to all other chiefs and superior authorities, who shall circulate them among the inferior functionaries.

ON THE PERMANENT COMMITTEE OF THE CORTES.

Art. 157. Previous to seperating, the Cortes will name a committee, which shall be styled the permanent Committee of the Cortes, composed of seven individuals thereof, three from the European provinces, and three from those beyond sea, and the seventh shall be drawn by lot between an European deputy and one from beyond sea.

Art. 158. At the same time, the Cortes shall nominate two members of reserve for this committee, one of Europe, the other from beyond sea.

Art. 159. The permanent Committee shall continue from one ordinary Cortes to another.

Art. 160. The powers of this Committee are,

First. To keep a vigilant eye on the observance of the Constitution, and the laws, to report to the succeeding Cortes, any infringements thereon, which it has observed.

Second. To convoke the extraordinary Cortes, in those cases prescribed by the Constitution.

Third. To perform the duties pointed out in the 111th and 112th articles.

Fourthly, To give notice to the deputies of reserve, to supply the place of the original members; and should death, or an absolute impossibility, prevent the original members, and deputies of reserve of a province, from attending, to communicate corresponding orders to the same, to proceed to a new election.

ON THE CORTES EXTRAORDINARY.

Art. 161. The Cortes extraordinary shall be composed of the same deputies, who form the ordinary one during the two years of their deputation.

Art. 162. The permanent committee of the Cortes shall convoke them on an appointed day, in the three following cases. In the first, when the crown shall become vacant. In the second, when it is impossible for the King, in any manner to conduct the government, or if he should be desirous of abdicating the throne in favor of his successor, the committee being authorized, in the first case, to take such measures, as it may deem suitable for the purpose of ascertaining the inability of the King. In the third, whenever in critical circumstances, and important affairs, the king may think proper that they should assemble, and communicate the same to the permanent committee of the Cortes.

Art. 163. The Cortes Extraordinary shall consider the subject only for which they have been expressly summoned.

Art. 164. The sessions of the Cortes Extraordinary shall

commence and terminate with the same formalities as those of the ordinary one.

Art. 165. The assembling of the Cortes Extraordinary shall not interfere with the election of new deputies at the appointed time.

Art. 166. If the Cortes Extraordinary should not have concluded their sessions on the day appointed for the meeting of the ordinary one, the duties and authorities of the first shall discontinue, and the ordinary one shall continue the affair, for which the former had been summoned.

Art. 167. The permanent committee of the Cortes shall continue to discharge the duties pointed out in the 111th and 112th articles, in the case comprised in the preceding article.

On the Inviolability of the King, and his Authority.

Art. 168. The person of the King is sacred and inviolable, and is not subject to responsibility.

Art. 169. The King shall hold the title of Catholic Majesty.

Art. 170. The executive authority resides exclusively in the King, and extends to whatever may be conducive to the preservation of public order in the interior, and to the external security of the state, conformable to the constitution and laws.

Art. 171. Besides the prerogative that belongs to the King, to sanction and proclaim the laws, are attached also the following principal powers.

1. To dispatch the decrees, regulations, and instructions, that he may think proper to render the laws effective.
2. To take care that justice is administered promptly, and completely, in the whole kingdom,
3. To declare war, make and ratify peace, subsequently giving official accounts thereof to the Cortes.
4. To appoint the magistrates of all the civil and criminal tribunals, on the presentation of the council of state.
5. To fill up all civil and military employments.
6. To present to all bishopricks, all dignities and ecclesiastical benefices of royal patronage, at the presentation of the council of state.
7. To grant honours and distinctions of every kind according to law.
8. To command the army and navy, and to appoint the generals and admirals.
9. To arrange the armed force, disposing it as may be most proper.
10. To control the diplomatic and commercial relations with other powers, to nominate and appoint ambassadors, ministers, and consuls.
11. To take care of the coinage of money, on which he will have impressed his name and bust.
12. To order the application of the funds, appropriated to each branch of the public administration.

13. To pardon culprits according to law.
14. To propose to the Cortes new laws, or such alterations of the old ones, as he may think conducive to the welfare of the nation, that they may deliberate thereon, in the prescribed form.
15. To grant the licence, or hold the pontifical bulls and decrees of council, with the consent of the Cortes; if they contain general matters consulting the council of state; if they should relate to private affairs, or matters of government, and if they should contain points of contention and dispute, communicating his information and decision to the supreme tribunal of justice, that it may act as the law directs.
16. To nominate, and dismiss at pleasure, ministers of state.

Art. 172. The following are the restraints on the authority of the king.

1. The King cannot, under any pretext, prevent the assembling of the Cortes, at the periods, and on the occasions pointed out by the constitution, suspend or dissolve them, nor in any manner embarrass their sessions and deliberations. Whoever may counsel, or assist any attempt whatever of this nature, are declared traitors, and shall be prosecuted accordingly.
2. The King cannot quit the kingdom without the consent of the Cortes, and if he should, it is to be understood that he has abdicated the crown.
3. The King cannot alienate, cede, renounce, or in any manner transfer to another, the royal authority, nor any of his prerogatives. If for any reason, he should desire to abdicate the throne, in favour of his immediate successor, he cannot do it without she consent of the Cortes.
4. The King cannot alienate, cede, or exchange any province, city, town, or place, nor any part, however trifling, of the Spanish territory.
5. The King cannot make offensive alliance, nor special commercial treaty with any foreign power, without the consent of the Cortes.
6. He cannot bind himself by any treaty to grant subsidies to any foreign power without the consent of the Cortes.
7. The King cannot grant, or alienate the national property without the consent of the Cortes.
8. The King cannot by himself, directly or indirectly, levy taxes, nor demand supplies, under any name, or for any object whatever, except always for such as the Cortes have decreed.
9. The King cannot grant any exclusive privilege to any person or corporation whatever.
10. The king cannot take the property of any individual, or corporation, nor disturb the possession, use, or advantage thereof; and if on any occasion it should be necessary, for

an object of known general utility, to take the property of an individual, he cannot do it, without at the same time indemnifying him with a good exchange to the satisfaction of honest men.

11. The King cannot deprive any individual of his liberty, or by himself, order him any punishment whatever. The secretary of state, who shall sign an order to this purpose, and the magistrate who shall carry it into execution, shall be responsible to the nation, and punished as guilty of attempts against the liberty of the subject.—It is only on occasion, when the welfare and security of the state require the arrest of any person, the King may issue orders accordingly, but on condition, that within forty eight hours he must be delivered over to the competent tribunal, or magistrate.

12. The King, previous to contracting marriage, shall acquaint the Cortes, to obtain their consent, and if he should not obtain it, it is to be understood that he abdicates the crown.

Art. 173. The King, on his accession to the throne, and if he should be minor, when he enters on the government of the kingdom, shall take an oath before the Cortes in the following form:

"N. (here his name is to be stated) by the grace of God, and the constitution of the Spanish monarchy, King of Spain, I swear by the Almighty, and by the Holy Evangelists, that I will defend and preserve the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, without tolerating any other in the kingdom; that I will guard, and keep protected, the political constitution, and the laws of the Spanish monarchy in all my actions, viewing only the welfare and advantage thereof; that I will not alienate, grant, or dismember any part of the kingdom; that I will never demand any productions of the soil, money, or other matter, except what the Cortes have decreed: and that, above all, I will respect the political liberty of the nation, and the personal freedom of every individual; and if to what I have sworn, or part thereof, I should act contrary thereto, I ought not to be obeyed, before that point in which I may transgress becomes null and void. So help me God, and be my defence; and if not, may God be my judge."

ON THE SUCCESSION TO THE CROWN.

Art. 174. The kingdom of Spain is indivisible, and after the publication of the constitution, there shall succeed to the throne, in perpetuity, in the regular order of primogeniture, and inheritance among the legitimate descendants, the males and females only, of the lineage that shall be explained.

Art. 175. Those only can be Kings of Spain, who are legitimate children, born in lawful wedlock.

Art. 176. In the same degree of lineage, males shall be pre-

fered to females, and always the elder to the younger, but the females of higher lineage, or higher rank, in the same lineage, shall be preferred to males of inferior lineage or rank.

Art. 177. The son or daughter of the first-born of the King, in case of their father dying without succeeding to the throne, is to be preferred to the uncles, and succeeds immediately to his grandfather by right of inheritance.

Art. 178. As long as the line in which the succession is founded is not extinct, the next does not inherit.

Art. 179. The King of Spain is our Lord Don Ferdinand the 7th of Bourbon, who actually reigns.

Art. 180. In failure of our Lord Don Ferdinand the 7th of Bourboon, his legitimate descendants, male and female, shall inherit the throne. On failure of these, his brothers shall succeed, and uncles, and aunts, brothers and sisters of his father, and the legitimate descendants of these in the order that is provided, preserving to all those of superior lineage the right of inheritance and superior claim, to those of inferior descent.

Art. 181. The Cortes shall exclude from the succession that person or persons who may be incapable of the government or have done any thing by which they deserve to lose the crown.

Art. 182. If all the lines of descent here pointed out should become extinct, the Cortes shall make out a new list, as they may see most important to the nation, always following the order and rules of succession herein laid down.

Art. 183. Whenever it is probable that the crown may fall; or may have actually fallen to a female, she cannot marry without, the consent of the Cortes; and if she should act contrary thereto, it is understood that she abdicates the crown.

Art. 184. In case a female happens to reign, her husband shall have no authority whatever respecting the kingdom, nor any share in the government.

ON THE MINIORITY OF THE KING AND ON THE REGENCY.

Art. 185. The king is minor until he completes his eighteenth year.

Art. 186. During the miniority of the King the kingdom shall be governed by a Regency.

Art. 187. It is governed by a Regency, whenever through physical or moral reasons, it becomes impossible for the King to excercise his authority.

Art. 188. If the difficulties of the King should exceed two years, and his immediate successor have attained eighteen years of age, the Cortes may nominate him regent of the Kingdom in the place of the regency.

Art. 189. In those cases in which the crown shall become vacant, the Prince of Asturias being yet minor, until the Cortes Extraordinary meet, if the ordinary one is not assembled, the

provisional Regency shall be composed of the Queen-mother, if there is one, of two senior deputies, (as prior elected) from the permanent committee of the Cortes, the two senior counsellors of state; viz. the deacon and the next in the list; if there should be no Queen-mother, the third senior of state shall form part of the Regency.

Art. 190. The provisional Regency shall be presided over by the queen-mother, if there is one, if not by that individual of the permanent committee of the Cortes, whose name shall be first mentioned therein.

Art. 191. The provisional Regency shall not dispatch any other business than that which admits of no delay; nor shall they move from, or appoint to, public offices, except for the interim.

Art. 192. The Cortes Extraordinary being met, shall nominate a Regency of three or five persons.

Art. 193. To be qualified as a member of the Regency, it is necessary to be a citizen in the enjoyment of his rights; all foreigners, although citizens, being excluded.

Art. 194. The regency shall receive as president, one of its members whom the Cortes shall appoint, it being for them to determine, on fit occasion, whether or not there should be a change of president, and at what periods.

Art. 195. The Regency shall exercise the authority of the King in the manner the Cortes may approve of.

Art. 196. Each Regency shall take the oath prescribed in the 173d article, adding a clause to be faithful to the King; and the permanent Regency shall moreover add, that it will observe the conditions required by the Cortes in the exercise of its authority, and that whenever the King becomes of age, or his impossibility of governing should terminate, it will deliver over to him the government of the kingdom under the penalty, if it delays it one moment, of all its members being held and punished as traitors.

Art. 197. All the decrees of the Regency shall be published in the name of the King.

Art. 198. The person whom the deceased king may have appointed in his will, shall be guardian to the King minor. If he should not have appointed one, the Queen-mother shall be guardian while she remains a widow; in default of the Queen-mother, the guardian shall be nominated by the Cortes; in the first and third case the guardian must be a native of the kingdom.

Art. 199. The Regency shall take care that the education of the King minor be the most suitable to the grand object of his exalted dignity, and that it is governed according to the plan which the Cortes shall approve.

Art. 200. The Cortes shall fix the salaries of the members of the Regency.

ON THE ROYAL FAMILY, AND OF ACKNOWLEDGING THE PRINCE OF ASTURIAS.

Art. 201. The eldest son of the King shall be styled Prince of Asturias.

Art. 202. The other sons and daughters of the King shall be styled Infantes or Infantas of Spain.*

Art. 203. The sons and daughters of the Prince of Asturias also shall be styled Infantes and Infantas of Spain.

Art. 204. To these persons precisely is limited the rank of infanta of Spain, without the power of its being granted to others.

Art. 205. The infantes or infantas of Spain shall enjoy the distinctions and honours they have hitherto possessed, and may be appointed to all kinds of profession, or admitted to any pursuit, excepting those of judicature, and the deputation to the Cortes.

Art. 206. The Prince of Asturias cannot quit the kingdom without leave of the Cortes; if he should, he will be excluded the succession to the crown.

Art. 207. Should he remain out of the kingdom a longer time than is admitted in his licence, and not return within the time required by the Cortes, he will also forfeit his succession to the throne.

Art. 208. The Prince of Asturias, the infantes and infantas of Spain, their offspring and descendants, subjects of the King, cannot enter into marriage contracts without his consent, and that of the Cortes, under the penalty of being excluded from the succession to the crown.

Art. 209. An authentic copy of the record of the birth, marriage, and death of all persons of the royal family, shall be sent to the Cortes, or in their vocation to the permanent committee, to be kept in their archives.

Art. 210. The Prince of Asturias shall be declared, by the Cortes, with the formalities which the regulations for the internal government shall direct.

Art. 211. This declaration shall be made in the first Cortes that are held after his birth.

Art. 212. The Prince of Asturias on attaining 14 years of age, shall take an oath before the Cortes in the following form: "I (here insert the name) Prince of Asturias, swear by the Almighty and the Holy Evangelists, that I will defend and preserve the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, without permitting any other in the kingdom; that I will protect the political constitution of the Spanish monarchy, and that I will be faithful and obedient to the King. So help me God."

ON THE REVENUES OF THE ROYAL FAMILY.

Art. 213. The Cortes shall fix the annual revenue of the

* Similar to Prince or Princess Royal.

King's household, which shall correspond with the exalted dignity of his person.

Art. 214. All the royal palaces which his predecessors have enjoyed belong to the King, and the Cortes shall point out such landed estates as they may think proper for his personal recreation.

Art. 215. The Cortes will appropriate an annual revenue for the support of the Prince of Asturias, from the day of his birth, and for that of the infantes and infantas of Spain, when they complete their seventh year, suitable to their respective dignity.

Art. 216. The Cortes will grant such dowry as they may think fit to the infantas on their marriage, when the annual allowances shall cease.

Art. 217. The regular allowances shall be continued to the infantes, if they marry and reside in Spain; but if they marry and reside abroad, the provision shall cease, and the dowry that the Cortes assign be delivered at once.

Art. 218. The Cortes shall fix the annual provision for the queen-dowager.

Art. 219. The revenue of the houshold of the King, and the provision for his family, mentioned in the preceding articles, shall be fixed by the Cortes at the commencement of each reign, and cannot be altered during its continuance.

Art. 220. The salaries of the members of the Regency shall be taken from the revenue assigned for the houshold of the King.

Art. 221 All these appropriations are on account of the national treasury, by which they shall be paid to the director that the King shall appoint, with whom must be treated the active and passive claims which may occur on account of their interests.

ON THE MINISTERS OF STATE, AND OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

Art. 222. The ministers of public affairs shall be seven, viz. The minister of foreign affairs.—The minister of public affairs of the government of the kingdom, in the peninsula, and the adjacent islands.—The secretary for the colonies.—The secretary of public affairs, of mercy and justice.—The secretary of the revenue, or minister of finance.—The secretary of war.—The secretary of the navy.

Succeeding Cortes shall make such alteration in this system of secretaries for public affairs, as experience or circumstances may require.

Art. 223. To be qualified to be a minister of public affairs, it is necessary to be a citizen in the exercise of his rights; foreigners, although citizens, being excluded this office.

Art. 224. By a particular regulation, approved by the Cortes, will be pointed out the business peculiarly appertaining to each minister.

Art. 225. All orders of the King should be signed by the secretary of state, to whose department the subject is committed. No tribunal nor public person shall acknowledge any order that is deficient in this essential.

Art. 226. The secretaries of public affairs shall be responsible to the Cortes for the orders which they may authorize against the constitution or the laws; the command of the King shall be no excuse to them.

Art. 227. The ministers of public affairs will draw up annual estimates of the public expences, that they may deem necessary in each respective branch of the administration, and shall render an account of those that have been incurred in the mode which will be pointed out.

Art. 228. To make the responsibility of the ministers of public affairs duly effective, it is necessary that the Cortes shall first decree that there is ground for impeachment.

Art. 229. This decree being given, the minister of public affairs shall be suspended, and the Cortes shall forward to the supreme tribunal of justice, all the documents relative to the cause to be brought forward by this same court, who shall prove and decide on the same, according to law.

Art. 230. The Cortes shall fix the salaries of the ministers of public affairs, during their ministry.

ON THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

Art. 231. There shall be a council of state, composed of 40 individuals, citizens in the exercise of their rights, foreigners, although citizens, being excluded.

Art. 232. There shall be precisely as follows, viz. four ecclesiastics and no more, of known and approved intelligence and merit, two of whom shall be bishops; four grandees of Spain, and no more, adorned with the necessary virtues, talents, and information; and the remainder shall be chosen among those subjects most distinguished for their intelligence and education, or for signal services in any of the principal branches of the administration of the government of the state. The Cortes cannot propose for this office any individual deputy to the Cortes, at the time of the election. Twelve, at least, of the members of the council of state, shall be natives of the provinces beyond sea.

Art. 233. All the counsellers of state shall be appointed by the King, at the presentation of the Cortes.

Art. 234. To form this council, there shall be circulated in the Cortes, a triple list of all the ranks referred to in the desired proportion, from which the King shall elect the 40 members, to compose the council of state, taking the ecclesiastics from the list of them, the grandees from their list, and so on of the others.

Art. 235. The council of state is the only council of the King, who will hear its opinion upon important matters of govern-

ment, and especially to grant or refuse his sanction to the laws, declare war, and make treaties.

Art. 236 When any vacancy shall occur in the council of state, the first Cortes that shall subsequently meet, shall present to the King three persons of the rank in which it may have occurred for his choice.

Art 237. This council shall propose to the King three persons for presentation to all esclesiastical benefices, and for preferment to offices of judicature.

Art. 238. The King shall form a regulation for the government of the council of state, consulting it thereon at the same time, and it shall be laid before the Cortes for its approbation.

Art. 239. The cousellors of state cannot be removed, without sufficient reasons, proved before the supreme court of justice.

Art. 240. The Cortes shall fix the salary of the counsellors of state.

Art. 241. The counsellors of state, on taking their seats, shall take an oath, before the King, to defend the constitution, to be faithful to the King, and to advise him in all matter conducive to the welfare of the nation, without a view to private interest or emolument.

ON THE CIVIL AND CRIMINAL COURTS OF JUSTICE AND THE ADMINISTRATION THEREOF.

On the Courts of Law.

Art. 242. The application of the laws in civil and criminal affairs, belongs exclusively to the tribunals.

Art. 243. Neither the Cortes nor the King can, in any cases exercise judical authority, advocate in depending causes, nor command the revisal of concluding judgments.

Art. 244. The laws shall fix the order and formalities of proceeding, which shall be uniformly the same in all the courts, and neither the Cortes nor the King can deviate therefrom.

Art. 245. The Cortes can exercise no other authority than that of giving sentence, and seeing it carried into execution.

Art. 246. Neither can they suspend the execution of the laws; nor make any regulations for the administration of justice.

Art. 247. No Spaniard can be sentenced in civil or criminal cases by any commission, or otherwise, than by the appropriate court previously ordered by law.

Art. 248. In ordinary cases, both civil and criminal, there shall be one mode of practice for all ranks of persons.

Art. 249. The clergy shall continue to enjoy the usual privileges in the manner regulated by law, at present or in future.

Art. 250. The military shall also enjoy their particular pri-

vilege, in the manner ordered by the ordinance (ordenanza) now or in future.

Art. 251. To be qualified as magistrate or judge, it is necessary to be a native of the Spanish territory, and to be 25 years old. Other necessary qualifications shall be determined by law.

Art. 252. Magistrates and justices cannot be deprived of their appointments, either temporary or permanent, without accusation lawfully proved and determined, nor suspended without an action lawfully commenced.

Art. 253. If complaints against any magistrate are made to the King, and on examination of the affair they should appear well-founded, he may, on consulting the council of state, suspend him, immediately forwarding the particulars of the business to the supreme court of justice, to decide according to law.

Art. 254. The Judges shall be responsible for all neglect of attention to the laws in civil and criminal proceedings, which they may be guilty of.

Art. 255. Corruption, bribery, and collusion of magistrates and judges, are grounds for public actions at law, against those who attempt them.

Art. 256. The Cortes will fix an adequate revenue for the professors of law.

Art. 257. Justice shall be administered in the name of the King, and the sentences and determinations of the superior courts shall also be registered in his name.

Art. 258. The civil, criminal, and commercial code, shall be one and the same throughout the monarchy, without obstruction to such alterations as the Cortes may make in particular circumstances.

Art. 259. A tribunal shall be established in the capital, which shall be called the Supreme Court of Justice.

Art. 260. The Cortes shall determine the number of magistrates for it, and the different courts into which it is to be distributed.

Art. 261. The jurisdiction of this supreme court is, in the *first* place, to settle all the powers of the courts of judicature within themselves, in the whole Spanish territory, and those of the special courts in the Peninsula and adjacent islands, beyond sea, these latter shall be regulated as the law shall determine.

Secondly. To try the secretaries of State, and ministers of public affairs, whenever the Cortes shall decree there exists ground of impeachment.

Thirdly. To take cognizance of all cases of dismissal and suspension from office of counsellors of state, and the officers of courts of justice.

Fourthly. To take cognizance of the criminal accusations, against the secretaries of state, the counsellors of state, and the

officers of justice, if appertaining to the office of police, according to the nature of the subject, to direct the proceedings to be forwarded to this tribunal.

Fifthly, To take cognizance of all criminal accusations that may be brought forward against the members of the supreme court. In case of its being necessary to render effective the responsibility of this same court, the Cortes, according to the formality required by the 228th article, shall proceed to nominate, for this purpose, a tribunal composed of nine judges, who shall be chosen by lot from double that number.

In the *sixth* place, To take cognizance of the residence of all public officers who are under its jurisdiction by law.

In the *seventh* place, To take cogniaznce of all matters in dispute, belonging to the royal patronage.

In the *eighth* place, To take cognizance of appeals against the oppression of all the superior ecclesiastic tribunals of the capital.

In the *ninth* place to take cognizance of appeals against illegal or informal proceedings, or claims for annulling the sentences given on the last hearing of the cause, with a view to the precise purpose of re-hearing it; and a re-examination, and to render effective the responsibility mentioned in the 254th article. Beyond sea the (Audiencias) high courts of judicature, shall take cognizance of these appeals in the mode which will be stated in its place.

In the *tenth* place, To attend to the doubts of other courts upon the meaning of any law, to consult the King thereon, with the principal arguments it may have to enable him to make an appropriate declaration to the Cortes.

In the *eleventh* place, To examine the lists of the civil and criminal actions which the courts must forward to it to further the prompt administration of justice; to forward copies thereof for the same purpose to government, and direct them to be printed.

Art. 262. All civil and criminal causes shall be concluded within the district of each court.

Art. 263. The high court of judicature shall take cognizance of all civil actions of the courts below them, upon the second and third hearing; and the same in criminal cases as the laws may determine, also of the reasons for suspending and dismissing the inferior judges of the district, in the mode pointed out by the law, reporting thereon to the King.

Art 264. The magistrates who have not attended the second hearing, cannot assist in the judgment of the same cause on the third hearing.

Art. 265. The high court of judicature will also take cognizance of the qualifications of the junior judges of the district.

Art. 266. They will also take cognizance of the appeals against oppression which are introduced from the ecclesiastical courts and authorities of their district.

Art. 267. It will be their duty also to receive from all the junior judges of their district, exact information of the actions preparing against crimes or criminals, and lists of the civil and criminal causes depending on their jurisdiction, with remarks on their nature, for the purpose of furthering the prompt administration of justice.

Art. 268. The high courts of judicature (Audiencias) beyond sea will, likewise, take cognizance of appeals or claims of annulling sentences, on account of illegal or informal proceedings in those courts, which may have a sufficient number of members to form three halls, in one of which the cause has not yet been tried. In courts of a lesser number of magistrates, these appeals shall be referred from one to another court of the district of the same superior government; and, in case there should be only one court in it, they shall proceed to the nearest in another district.

Art. 269. The sentence being annulled, the court which has cognizance thereon, shall give a report, with a certificate that it contains the appropriate matter to the supreme court of justice, to render effective the responsibility mentioned in the 254th article.

Art. 270. The high courts of judicature shall forward every year to the supreme court of justice, exact lists of civil causes, and every six months of criminal actions, those concluded as well as what are depending, with remarks on the state they are in, including those they have received from the courts below.

Art. 271. The law and special regulations shall determine the number of the magistrates for the high courts of judicature, (which cannot be less than seven) the form of these tribunals and their seats of judgment.

Art. 272. When the time permits a more convenient division or arrangement of the Spanish territory, as pointed out in the 11th article, the proportionate number of high courts of judicature to be established shall be determined, and a district assigned to each.

Art. 273. Proportionate equal districts shall be established; and, at the head of a district there shall be a professor of law, with a corresponding court.

Art. 274. The powers of these judges shall be limited precisely to matters in litigation, and the laws shall determine their peculiar functions in the capital and neighbouring district, as well as to what account they may take cognizance of, in civil matters, without appeal.

Art. 275. Magistrate (Alcaldes,) shall be established in all settlements; and the laws shall define the extent of their powers, both in matters of litigation, and of political economy.

Art. 276. All judges in the lower courts shall report, at the latest within three days, to their respective chief courts, the actions that may be formed on account of crimes committed in their district; and shall subsequently continue to report their progress, at the pleasure of the same.

Art. 277. They must also forward every six months, to their respective chief courts, general lists of all civil causes, and every three months of criminal ones, that are depending in their courts, with remarks on their nature.

Art. 278. The laws shall determine whether there shall be special courts to take cognizance of peculiar causes.

Art. 279. The magistrates and judges, on taking possession of their offices, shall swear to defend the constitution, to be faithful to the King, to observe the laws, and administer justice impartially.

ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN CIVIL CAUSES.

Art. 280. No Spaniards can be deprived of the right of terminating their differences by arbitrators, chosen by both parties.

Art. 281. The decision of the arbitrators shall be carried into execution if the parties should not have reserved the right of appeal.

Art. 282. The magistrate of every settlement shall discharge the duties of a Reconciling Court; and all persons intending to sue, either in civil matters, or an account of wrongs, must appear before him for the said purpose.*

Art. 283. The magistrate, with two honest men named by each party, shall hear the complaint and the reply, shall inform himself throroughly of the arguments on each side, and consulting the opinions of his associates, shall take such measures as may appear to him best adapted to put an end to the further progress of the litigation, as in fact it shall be terminated, if the parties remain satisfied with this extra-judicial decision.

Art. 284. Without proof that reconciliation has been attempted, no law suits can be commenced.

Art. 285. In all causes, whatever may be the amount, there shall be at the most three trials and three judgments definitively pronounced therein. Whenever the third trial is an appeal from two corresponding sentences, the number of judges to decide thereon, must be greater than that on the second hearing, according to the form prescribed by law. They shall also have power of limiting the appeal, after enquiry into the importance of the subject, the nature and character of the different opinions, and determine which of the two sentences shall be carried into execution.

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* In Denmark and her colonies, the Reconciling Court is permanent; and, to the honour of Sir Alexander Cochrane, K.B. his establishment of chambers of conciliation in Guadaloupe, will ever be remembered by the inhabitants with the sincerest gratitude.

ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN CRIMINAL AFFAIRS.

Art. 286. The laws shall regulate the administration of justice, in criminal matters, in such manner that the proceedings shall be concise and pure, so that culprits shall be promptly punished.

Art. 287. No Spaniard can be made a prisoner without summary preceding information on the fact for which he may deserve corporal punishment by the law, and also an order of the judge, in writing, which shall be communicated to him at the moment of his arrest.

Art. 288. All persons are bound to obey these orders: all opposition thereto shall be regarded as a serious crime.

Art. 289. Wherever opposition may be attempted, or escape suspected, force may be employed to secure the person.

Art. 290. The person arrested, previous to being placed in gaol, shall be brought before the judge, provided there is nothing to prevent it, to be examined; but if he cannot justify himself, he shall be conducted to gaol, and detained, and the judge shall take his examination within 24 hours.

Art. 291. The examination of the arrested person shall not be upon oath, which is not to be taken by any criminal in matters relating to himself or concerning his own acts.

Art. 292. Any delinquent caught in the fact, may be arrested, and any person whatever may arrest and conduct him to the judge. On his appearance in court, or if kept in custody, the proceedings shall be the same as those pointed out in the two preceding articles.

Art. 293. If it should be determined that the arrested person shall be committed to prison, or shall be detained there as prisoner, the reason shall be assigned, and a copy thereof delivered to the governor, to be inserted in his register of prisoners, without which formality the governor shall not receive any person whatever as prisoner, under the most rigid responsibility.

Art. 294. Detention of property is admitted only when proceedings take place against crimes which may be punished by pecuniary fine, and in proportion to its probable extent.

Art. 295. Whoever procures bail shall not be committed to prison in those cases in which the law does not expressly prohibit bail to be taken.

Art. 296. In any state of the proceedings that it may appear the prisoner cannot lawfully receive corporal punishment, he shall be set at liberty, on bail.

Art. 297. The prisons shall be so ordered as to secure and not to punish the prisoners; the governor will keep them in safe custody, and separate those whom the judge may order to have no communication, but never in subterraneous, nor unwholesome dungeons.

Art. 298. The law shall determine the frequency of the inspection of the prisons, and no prisoner whatever, under any pretext, shall avoid appearing thereat.

Art. 299. The judge and the governor, who shall be deficient in attention to the preceding articles, shall be punished as guilty of arbitrary imprisonment, which shall be regarded as a crime in the criminal code.

Art. 300. The cause of his imprisonment, and the name of his accuser, if there should be one, shall be declared within 24 hours, to the person regarded as guilty.

Art. 301. On taking a confession from the person regarded as guilty, the whole of the documents and declarations made by the witnesses shall be read to him, also their names, and if he should not know them thereby, whatever information he may require to ascertain who they are, shall be given to him.

Art. 302. The proceeding thenceforward shall be public in the mode and manner which the laws may determine.

Art. 303. Neither torture nor compulsion shall ever be used.

Art. 304. Neither shall confiscation of property be permitted.

Art. 305. No penalty that may be inflicted, for whatever crime, can attach, in any manner, to the family of the sufferer, but shall carry its whole effect precisely on the individual who deserves it.

Art. 306. No house belonging to any Spaniard shall be forcibly entered, except in those cases that the law may determine for the good order and safety of the state.

Art. 307. If, at a future period, the Cortes should think it desirable to make a distinction between the judges of the law and the fact, they shall establish the same in such manner as they may think proper.

Art. 308. If, in extraordinary circumstances, the safety of the state should require, in all the monarchy, or in a part of it, the suspension of any of the formalities prescribed in this chapter for the arrest of delinquents, the Cortes have power to decree it for a certain period.

ON THE INTERIOR GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCES AND TOWNS.

*On the Ayuntamientos.**

Art. 309. For the interior government of the towns, Ayuntamientos shall be formed, of one or more magistrates, alderman, and the public counsellor, presided over by the chief of

* Ayuntamientos. No single word or expression in English will give the proper signification of this word. It embraces the terms and duties of corporations, town-halls, court-leets, courts of conservancy, of lieutenancies of counties, and, in short, all descriptions of courts for municipal internal regulations.

police, (corregidor) wherever there is one, and in default of him by the magistrate, or the first appointed of these, if there should be two.

Art. 310. An ayuntamiento shall be established in those settlements that are without it, and in which it is desirable; all those which possess, either in themselves or in their liberties, a population of 1000 souls, being required to have it, and a proportionate district shall be assigned it.

Art. 311. The laws shall determine the number of individuals of each rank to compose the ayuntamientos of the towns, with regard to their population.

Art. 312. The magistrates, alderman, and public counsellor, shall be nominated by election in the towns; the alderman, and others who may discharge permanent duties, of whatever description in the ayuntamientos, discontinuing to act.

Art. 313. Every year, in the month of December, the citizens of each town shall assemble to elect by a majority of votes in proportion to its population, the requisite number of electors who may reside in the same town, and are in the exercise of the rights of citizens.

Art 314. The electors shall, in the same month, nominate, by a majority of votes, the magistrate or magistrates, alderman and public counsellor or counsellors, in order that they should commence their functions on the 1st of January of the following year.

Art. 315. The magistrates and half of the aldermen shall be changed every year, also the public counsellor, where there are two; where there is only one, every year.

Art. 316. Whoever may have discharged any of these offices, is not again eligible for any of them within two years at least, where the population permits it.

Art. 317. To be qualified as a magistrate, alderman, or public counsellor, besides being a citizen in the exercise of his rights, it it necessary to be 25 years of age, with at least five years residence in the town. The laws shall determine what other qualifications may be required from these public officers.

Art. 318. No public officer actually employed and nominated by the King, can be eligible as a magistrate, alderman, or public counsellor; the national militia, however, not being included in this regulation.

Art. 319. All these before mentioned municipal employments shall be public duty, from which no person can be exempt without lawful reason.

Art. 320. There shall be a secretary in every Ayuntamiento, elected by it, by an absolute plurality of votes, and paid from the funds of the district.

Art. 321. To the Ayuntamientos shall be intrusted, in the first place, the Police regulations for health and convenience.

2. To assist the magistrate in whatever may relate to the safety of the persons and property of the inhabitants, and to the preservation of public order.
3. The administration and application of the funds belonging to the city, and duties of excise, according to the law and regulations, with the duty of nominating a trustee, under the responsibility of those who appoint him.
4. To make out a division, and proportion equally the taxes, and forward them to the respective treasury.
5. To take care of all preparatory schools, and all other establishments of education to be paid out of the funds of the district.
6. To take care of the hospitals, religious houses of charity, foundling hospitals, and other establishments of benevolence under the prescribed regulations.
7. To take care of the construction and repairs of roads, causeways, bridges, and prisons; the forests and plantations of the district, and of all public works of necessity, utility, and ornament.
8. To draw up the municipal regulations of the town, and present them to the Cortes for their approbation, by a provincial deputation, which shall attend them with the necessary information thereon.
9. To encourage agriculture, industry, and commerce, according to local circumstances of the towns, and whatever may be usful and beneficial to them.

Art. 322. Should public works, or other objects of general utility be desirable, and from the insufficiency of the funds of the corporation, it should be necessary to resort to excise duties, these latter shall not be laid on, without obtaining the approbation of the Cortes, through the means of the provincial deputation. Should the work, or the proposed object, be urgent, the ayuntamientos may make use of them, in the interval, with the consent of the same deputation, until the receipt of the resolution of the Cortes. These duties of excise shall be administered exactly in the same manner as the corporation funds.

Art. 323. The corporation shall discharge all these duties, under the inspection of the provincial deputation, to whom they shall every year, give in a certified account of the public funds they have received and applied.

Art. 324. The political government of the provinces shall reside in the superior chief or governor appointed by the King in each.

Art. 325. There shall be in every province a deputation, stiled provincial, for the purpose of promoting its prosperity, and presided in by the superior chief or governor.

Art. 326. This deputation shall be composed of the president, the intendant, and seven individuals, elected in the mode which shall be pointed out; the Cortes may at a future

period vary this number as they think proper, or as circumstances may require, after the said division of the provinces mentioned in the 11th article.

Art. 327. Half of the provincial deputation shall be renewed every two years; on the first change, the majority retiring, and on the second, the lesser number, and so on successively.

Art. 328. The election of these individuals shall be made by the district electors, on the day following that of appointing deputies to the Cortes, in the same order as the latter are nominated.

Art. 329. At the same time, and in the same manner, three deputies of reserve shall be elected for every deputation.

Art. 330. To be qualified as member of the provincial deputation, it is necessary to be a citizen, in the exercise of his rights, 15 years of age, native or inhabitant of the province, with a residence of at least seven years therein; and to possess a competent income, to appear with decency; no public officers nominated by the King are eligible, as mentioned in the 318th article.

Art. 331. Four years, at least, must elapse after the cessation of his duties, before the same person can be elected a second time.

Art. 332. Whenever the superior chief, or governor of a province, shall not be able to preside in the deputation, the intendant shall take his place, and in his absence the senior member shall preside.

Art. 333. The deputation shall appoint a secretary, to be paid from the public funds of the province.

Art. 334. The deputation shall keep sessions 90 days at most in every year, at such periods as may be most convenient.—The deputation shall assemble in the Peninsula, on the first of March, and beyond sea on the first of June.

Art. 335. It will be the duty of these deputations,

1. To examine and approve the division made among the people, of the taxes required from the province.
2. To take care of the proper application of the public funds of the towns, to examine their accounts, for the purpose, with their favourable report, of receiving the approbation of their superior authority, taking care to observe in every particular, the laws and regulations.
3. To take care that ayuntamientos are established in proper places, conformable to the 310th article.
4. If new works of general utility to the province, or repairs of ancient ones, should be required, to propose to the government the duties of excise that they may think most proper to carry them into execution, for the purpose of obtaining the corresponding sanction of the Cortes. For the collection of these duties of excise, the deputation, at its own responsibility, shall nominate a trustee, and the accounts of their application, examined by the same, shall be forwarded to

the government for inspection, and finally to the Cortes for approval.

5. To promote the education of youth, conformable to approved plans, to encourage agriculture, industry, and trade, and to protect new inventions, in any of these branches.
6. To inform government of any abuses they may observe in the administration of the public revenue.
7. To take the census and statistic account of the provinces.
8. To take care that pious and charitable establishments obtain their respective objects, submitting to government the rules that they may think useful, to correct the abuses they may observe.
9. To acquaint the Cortes of the infringements of the constitution which they may observe in the province.
10. The deputations of provinces beyond sea, will vigilantly observe the management, order, and progress of the missions for the conversion of Indian infidels, whose ministers will give them an account of their proceeding therein, for the purpose of avoiding abuses, all which the deputations will submit to government.

Art. 336. If any deputation shall abuse the powers it possesses, the King may suspend the members thereof, acquainting the Cortes with the measure and the ground thereof, for such resolutions as they may think proper. During the suspension of the members, the deputies of reserve shall supply their places.

Art. 337. All the members of the municipality, and provincial deputations, on entering into office, shall take an oath, the former before the chief of police, where there is one, or in default of him, before the senior magistrate; the latter before the superior, or governor of the province, to protect the political constitution of the Spanish monarchy, observe the laws, be faithful to the King, and religiously fulfil their bounden duties.

ON THE TAXES.

Art. 338. The Cortes shall annually establish, or approve the public contribution, direct or indirect, general, provincial, or municipal; the ancient ones continuing to be effective until their abolition, or the enactment of others.

Art 339. The taxes shall be equally divided among all Spaniards, in proportion to their means, without exception or privilege whatever.

Art. 340. The taxes shall be proportioned to the public expences, decreed by the Cortes in all branches.

Art. 341. To enable the Cortes to fix the expences of every branch of the public service, and the revenue, to meet the estimate thereof, as soon as they are assembled, the minister of finance shall present a general schedule of the same, collecting from each secretary of state, a summary of his demand for his respective department.

Art. 342. The minister of finance shall present with the schedule of the expences, the plan of the taxes necessary to cover the charge thereof.

Art. 343. If any peculiar tax should in the opinion of the King, appear grievous and injurious, he shall acquaint the Cortes with the same, by the minister of finance, at the same time suggesting whatever he may deem more convenient to substitute.

Art. 344. The quota of the direct revenue being fixed, the Cortes shall divide it among the provinces, to each according to its wealth, for which purpose the minister of finance shall also present the necessary schedules.

Art. 345. A national treasury shall be established for the management of all the description revenue, appropriated to the public service.

Art. 346. A treasury shall also be established in each province, for the receipt of all funds destined for the public exchequer. These provincial shall correspond with the national treasury, and hold, at the disposal of the latter, the whole of their receipts.

Art. 347. No acquittance shall be admitted in account to the national treasury, unless by the order of the King, and countersigned by the minister of finance in which is expressed the nature of the charge to which it is destined, and the decree of the Cortes authorizing the same.

Art. 348. For the purpose of the national treasury's account being conducted in a pure and honourable manner, the charge thereon, and the date thereof, should be signed respectively by the tellers of the exchequer, and commissioners of the public revenue.

Art. 349. Particular directions shall govern these offices, so that they may fulfil the objects for which they are instituted.

Art. 350. For the examination of the public funds, there shall be a superior court of auditor of accounts, which shall be organized by a special law.

Art. 351. The account of the national treasury, which shall include the annual return of the revenue, and its application, as soon as it may receive the approbation of the Cortes, shall be printed, published, and circulated, among the provincial deputations, and the ayuntamientos.

Art. 352. In the same manner shall be printed, published, and circulated, the accounts rendered by the secretaries of state, of the expences of their respective departments.

Art. 353. The management of the public revenue shall always be independent of all other authority than that to which it is entrusted.

Art. 354. There shall be no custom-houses, except in the sea-ports, and on the frontiers, but this shall not be carried into effect until the Cortes so determine.

Art. 355. The public debt shall receive the particular at-

tention of the Cortes, who will make the greatest exertions for its progressive extinction, and always pay the interest accruing thereon, to those who are entitled to it, regulating whatever may relate to the management of this important branch, both with respect to the duties of excise, which may be established for this purpose, which shall positively be kept independent of the general treasury, and also for establishing separate offices to keep those accounts.

MILITARY FORCE.

Art. 356. There shall be a permanent national force by sea and land, for the external defence of the state, and the preservation of internal order.

Art. 357. The Cortes shall annally fix the number of troops necessary, according to circumstances, and the most convenient manner of raising them.

Art. 358. The Cortes shall also annually determine the number of vessels of war to be kept in service.

Art. 359. The Cortes shall also determine, by the respective naval, and military codes, whatever relates to discipline, promotion, pay, and all other matter for the good government of the army and navy.

Art. 360. Schools shall be established for military education and instruction in the use of the different arms of the army and navy.

Art. 361. No Spaniard can be exempt from military service whenever he is regularly called on by law.

Art. 362. There shall be formed corps of *national militia,* in each province, consisting of the inhabitants of the same, in proportion to its population and circumstances.

Art. 363. A particular regulation (ordinanza) will organize its numbers and special government in all branches.

Art. 364. The service of the militia shall not be permanent, and shall be called for only when circumstances make it necessary.

Art. 365. The King on any necessary occasion, may dispose of this force within its respective province, but cannot employ it out of its limits, without the authority of the Cortes.

PUBLIC EDUCATION.

Art. 366. Preparatory schools shall be established in all the towns of the monarchy, in which children shall be taught to read, write, cast accounts, and the catechism of the Roman Catholic religion, which shall also contain a brief explanation of their civil duties.

Art. 367. There shall be founded and regulated an adequate number of universities, and other establishments of education, that may be thought proper for teaching the sciences, literature, and the fine arts.

Art. 368. The general plan of education shall be uniformly the same in the whole kingdom, all universities and literary establishments where the ecclesiastical and political sciences

are taught, being bound to explain the political constitution of the Spanish monarchy.

Art. 369 There shall be a board of superintendance of education, composed of persons of known intelligence, to whom shall be committed, under the authority of government, the inspection of the public education.

Art. 370. The Cortes shall regulate by special statutes, whatever may relate to the important object of the public education.

Art. 371. All Spaniards have liberty to write, print, and publish their political ideas without any necessity for a license, examination, or approbation, previous to publication, subject to the restrictions and responsibility established by law.

Art. 372. The Cortes at their first sittings will take into their consideration any violation of the constitution which may have been communicated to them, take measures accordingly and render effective the responsibility of those who may have committed them.

Art. 373. Every Spaniard has a right of memorial to the Cortes, or the King, to claim the benefits of the observance of the constitution.

Art. 374. All persons whatever in public employment, civil, military, or ecclesiastic, shall take an oath on taking possession of their offices to defend the constitution, be faithful to the King and duly serve the trust committed to their charge.

Art. 375. Until eight years elapse after the constitution has been carried into practice, in all its particulars, no alteration, addition, or correction, whatever, can be proposed in its details.

Art. 376. To make any alteration, addition, or correction of the constitution, it shall be necessary that the deputies who may have to decree definitely thereon, shall be provided with special powers accordingly.

Art. 377. All proposals for change in any article of the constitution must be made in writing, and be supported and signed by at least twenty deputies.

Art. 378. The proposal of alteration shall be read three times with intervals of six days from one to the other reading, and after the third, it shall be discussed whether there is ground for proceding to debate thereon.

Art. 379. If it is admitted to a debate, it shall be proceeded in under the same formalities and regulations that are prescribed for the formation of the laws, after which it shall be put to the vote, whether there is ground for considering it again, in the following general deputation, and for this effect, two thirds of the members present must agree.

Art. 380. The following general deputation, observing all the same formalities, shall declare in either of the two years of its sittings, two thirds of the votes agreeing therein, that there is ground for special powers to make the proposed alterations.

Art. 381. This being declared, it shall be communicated publicly to all the provinces; and according to the time in which this has been done, the Cortes shall determine if the next deputation or the one immediately succeeding it shall come qualified with the special powers.

Art. 382. These shall proceed from the elective provincial meetings, adding to the usual powers the following clause:

"They also grant special power and authority to make such alteration in the constitution as mentioned in the decree of the Cortes, in the following tenor (here a copy of the decree) the whole to be regulated by the same constitution. And they become bound to acknowledge and regard as constitutional what they may in consequence establish."

Art. 383. The proposed alteration shall be again discussed, and if approved by two-thirds of the members it shall become a law of the Constitution, and be published as such in the Cortes.

Art. 384. A committee shall present the decree of alteration to the King, in order that he may command the publication and circulation of the same, among all the public authorities and inhabitants of the monarchy.

How much must other nations envy the people possessed of such a clear body of laws, by which power is taught its boundaries, and people their duties! How different the institutions of weak or wicked princes—of feudal lords—of a superstitious priesthood, or of time-serving lawyers! Here reason, science, and philosophy triumph, and instead of law, scattered through hundreds of musty volumes serving as snares for the unwary, and as means of keeping injustice in countenance, every social regulation is rendered intelligible to the meanest capacity. Clearly defined constitutions must soon be considered as the characteristic of civilized nations.

CHAP. XXXII.

Favorable Opportunities for a liberal Peace.—Observations.—Review of the unsuccessful Attempts of the French Emperor at Negociation.—Emperor of Russia's Proclamation.—State of the British Finances.

THE exhausted situation of the belligerent powers at the commencement of the year 1813, afforded sanguine hopes to the friends of humanity, that amicable negociations would be resorted to by the British government. The return of the French Emperor to his capital, after an absence of eight months, and a march of nearly the extent of one-twelfth of the circumference of the globe; the greater part of which was a scene of sanguinary combats, through a desolate country, and a frigid clime, in which myriads of his army perished, and the hostile forces being placed in quarters to recruit it from the excessive fatigue, privation, and exhaustion they had undergone; strengthened the opinions of the lovers of peace, that the government would have embraced this opportunity to obtain so desirable an object. The principal difficulties that presented themselves were,

In the affairs of Russia, Spain, and America, in which all other interests seem to have been absorbed; yet it must be recollected, that these difficulties were all of very recent occurrence, and had arisen entirely since the failure of the negociation in 1806. The blood that might have been spared in every quarter of the world, and the distress that could have been prevented in every state, and in this amongst the rest, if a reconciliation had then happily taken place, are considerations too obvious to be dwelt upon; at the same time it behoves the English, as well as all other governments, to look to the future, and by every means in their power endeavour to prevent that

continued accumulation and extension of misery and slaughter the nations of Europe had so long endured, and which are the natural consequences of rooted enmity and protracted warfare.

The character of the war could no longer be concealed or denied. On the part of England it was an attempt to destroy the government of France by the overthrow of Buonaparté and his dynasty, and to place the Bourbons upon their ancient throne; an attempt which the government designated by the name of the Liberation of Europe from the yoke of France. On the part of France, it was to cut off and destroy the resources of Great Britain, so as to deprive her of the means of carrying on the war—a project so extensive in its nature, so difficult in its execution; necessarily embracing such a variety of objects, as could have only been suggested by a total despair of being able to effect any serious impression by direct hostilities upon this country. Which of these might be first accomplished, was the great question that England and France undertook to solve. There was, however, another, the result of which sems not to have been sufficiently contemplated, and which was not only *possible*, but much more *probable*, than either of the others; that England would not be able to impose a government upon France, nor France to destroy the resources of this country; but that after protracted hostilities, and an unbounded waste of blood and treasure, each nation would be compelled, like wearied and enfeebled combatants, to give up to exhausted nature, what each refuse to its claim, and because they were no longer able to carry on war, consent to be at peace.

Let us now look back to the circumstance which opposed a reconciliation.—As to Russia! what a train of awful reflections does that name suggest to every contemplative mind! The shock of hostile armies, more powerful by the skill of the leaders, and the means of destruction by the num-

bers of the combatants, and the spirit by which they were animated, than any that are recorded in history. The voluntary conflagration of an immense capital—the desolation and dispersion of its inhabitants in a severe season, and an inhospitable clime.—The destruction of the ancient palace of the Czar, and all this effected at such a distance from the means of the enemy, at the same time so powerfully defended, as seemed but a short time ago to place it beyond the possibility of danger! On the other hand, the overthrow and ruin of the finest army that had been collected for thousands of years, overwhelmed and destroyed by the joint effects of an exasperated adversary, and an irresistible natural calamity—the horse and his rider perishing by thousands in the trackless wilds, stained only by the blood of human beings—stiffened into sudden death by the Gorgon power of frost, or finding a living grave under sepulchres of snow! and the turpitude and aggressions of the invaders—paid upon his own head, and upon the heads of his followers. And what was the real and immediate ground of such a merciless contest?—What the direct cause of such dreadful results?—Neither more nor less than to compel the Emperor of Russia to close his ports against British merchandize. For this was mighty armies called into action, and populous cities laid waste!

How long is the human race destined to destroy its species through the ignorance and impolicy of its governors?—How long is the will of a single individual to inflict unbounded miseries on thousands and tens of thousands of his fellow creatures? Surely the era is fast approaching when man will assume the station he is destined to fill in society—when the titled tyrant shall become amenable for the destruction of the humble peasant—when the exertion of the people shall be for the benefit of the whole, and not diverted to indulge and pamper the vices and depraved appetites of the few—when the absurd notions of legitimacy and divine right

shall give way to virtue and talent—when governments shall be so regulated that the subject may enjoy the fruits of his labour, and lay down his head in peace.

The situation of this country with respect to the contest in the Spanish peninsula, in some degree resembled that of the French with respect to Russia, and at the moment when Buonaparté was compelled to retreat from Poland, and relinquish the prize which he had obtained, lord Wellington was under the necessity of withdrawing from the scene of his victories, and retracing his steps to the confines of Portugal. More fortunate, however, than the French ruler, the British commander had to contend against an enemy that had no ally in the climate. After the dispositions manifested by the great body of the Spanish nation, all men must agree, that if England would entertain the idea of a pacification with France, as far as it regards its real interests, there could be no doubt of favourable terms being obtained for the Spanish people.

Another branch from that tree of bitter fruit, the contest with France, was the war with America. Of the contagious effects of war, and the difficulty of avoiding being implicated in it, this is a most remarkable instance. That the ancient governments of Europe should have been drawn into the vortex is not surprizing; but that a young and unwarlike country, separated by the Atlantic from the seat of war, whose essential policy ought have been to preserve its neutrality, should at length have been betrayed by its impatience into hostilities, is a subject of regret. As the war with that country was grafted on that with France, so whenever that should terminate, the chief causes of hostility between Great Britain and America would terminate also. The obnoxious terms of the Orders in Council and of the French Decrees, prohibiting neutral states from extended lines of coast, by what was

justly called paper blockades, would most naturally cease with the cessation of hostilities, and the terms upon which any two nations are to continue their commercial intercourse, must be regulated by themselves, without the intervention of a third.

It appeared that the great difficulty to negociations was the situation of the Spanish peninsula, by the determination of Buonaparté to establish his brother on that throne—by the resolution of this country to prevent it, and the alliance formed for that purpose with the constituted authorities of the resisting part of the Spanish nation.

In every attempt to adjust this difference, it is obvious to remark the different situations in which Spain and Portugal stood with respect to Great Britain. The latter of these was an ancient ally, to the protection of whom we are bound by the strongest ties of duty and interest. The former is a power with which we had a more remote connexion, and in whose concerns we could have no legitimate motive for not interfering, except for the purpose of preventing the further aggrandisement of the Emperor of France.

We shall finish our digression by briefly recalling to the minds of our readers the various offers for negociations for peace that have been made by, or at the instance of France to this country, since the treaty of Amiens in 1803. We wish we could counterbalance them, by shewing what pacific overtures had originated with this country; but this our government have not put it into our power to do. After the many propositions that had been made by Napoleon without success, it was not very probable that he would repeat them, particularly as he could not but consider this as a season of disappointment and depression.

On assuming the imperial title, Buonaparté addressed a letter to the King of Great Britain, dated Jannary 2, 1805. In this he stated that "his first wish was for peace, and that he considered it as no disgrace to make the first step. He observed

that the war was without an object, and that it was a melancholy business to cause two nations to fight merely for the sake of fighting." In answer, lord Mulgrave, then Secretary of State, informed Buonaparté, "That there was no object which his Majesty had more at heart than to avail himself of the first opportunity to procure again for his subjects the advantages of a peace founded on bases which might not be incompatible with the permanent security and essential interest of his dominions: but, that his Majesty felt it impossible to answer more particularly to the overture that had been made to him, till he had time to communicate with the powers on the continent, WITH WHOM HE WAS ENGAGED IN CONFIDENTIAL CONNECTIONS AND RELATIONS; and particularly the Emperor of Russia, who had given the strongest proofs of the wisdom and elevation of the sentiments by which he was animated, and the lively interest which he took in the safety and independence of the continent."—Of course no further correspondence too place.

On the 8th of March, 1806, M. Talleyrand transmitted to Mr. Fox, an extract from a speech of Napoleon to the Legislative Body, to the following effect: "I desire peace with England. On my part I shall never delay it a moment: I shall always be ready to conclude it, taking for its basis the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens." This led the way to the negociation carried on by Mr. Fox to the time of his death, and afterwards by Lord Grey, and which was broken off by our refusing to negotiate otherwise than in conjunction with Russia; Lord Lauderdale having declared, that England "was resolved not to make peace with Russia, without obtaining for Russia all the objects on which she insisted, which were more INTERESTING, IF POSSIBLE, to England, than those points which might be considered as peculiarly connected with her own interests."

This result was the more to be regretted, as it had been proposed on the part of the French Em-

peror not only to restore Hanover to his Majesty without any compensation, but also to give up Malta and the cape of Good Hope; his minister Talleyrand, having observed, that Hanover was for the honour of the crown, Malta for the honour of the navy, and the cape of Good Hope for the honour of the British commerce.

On the 18th of April, 1807, the Austrian Ambassador in London, Prince Stahremberg, transmitted to his Majesty's ministers, a proposal from the Emperor of Austria, of his friendly intention "for effecting a reconciliation between the belligerent powers." Mr. Canning, then Secretary of State, replied, "that his Majesty would willingly accede to such negociation, whenever the consent of the other parties interested in them should be obtained; and, that his Majesty would LOSE NO TIME in communicating with such powers, and if their views should be favourable to his Imperial Majesty's proposal, in concerting with them the mode in which such negociations should be opened." It does not appear that the British ministry ever adopted any measures for consulting their allies on this subject; and consequently the proposal was of no avail.

On the 1st of August, 1807, M. Alopeus, the Russian Ambassador at London, notified to the British ministry, "that the Emperor of Russia had, by the treaty of Tilsit, offered himself as a mediator of peace between England and France, provided his mediation was accepted within the space of one month."—In reply, Mr. Canning required, "as a preliminary, the communication of the treaty of Tilsit, and the statement of those equitable and honourable principles, upon which his Imperial Majesty expresses his belief that France is desirous of concluding a peace with Great Britain." The negotiation was afterwards carried on by lord G. L. Gower, at Petersburg, with the Russian ministry; in the course of which it was conceived, that an opportunity was afforded of detaching Russia from the interests of France. The

discussion was therefore continued *with other views* than those of peace.—In the official correspondence it appears, that Mr. Canning informed the British Envoy, " that the establishment of future good understanding between this country and Russia, and the concert of measures to be taken, with a view to future exertion, were ALONE the proper subjects of discussion between the two governments." This negotiation was suddenly terminated by our attack upon Copenhagen, which so exasperated the Emperor of Russia, that he declared, that, " no arrangements should take place between Russia and England, until the latter should have given satisfaction to Denmark ; at the same time expressing his expectation, that his Britannic Majesty, instead of permitting his ministers, as had lately been the case, to scatter anew the seeds of war, would lend his assistance to the conclusion of peace with France."

On the 20th of November, 1807, Prince Stahremberg, the Austrian ambassador, officially and earnestly requested his Britannic Majesty, to " declare his intentions in evincing his disposition to enter into a negociation for a maritime peace, upon a basis suitable to the reciprocal interests of the powers who might take a part in it." To this Mr. Canning replied, that his Majesty was, as then, as he had at all times been, prepared to enter into a negociation, for the conclusion of such a peace as should settle on equal terms the respective interests of the powers engaged in the war ; as should be consistent with his Majesty's fidelity to his allies, and should provide for the tranquility and security of Europe." In consequence of this answer the Austrian minister, about five weeks afterwards, informed the British ministry, that, " in consequence of the pacific disposition of his Britannic Majesty, he was charged to propose to the British ministry to send immediately plenipotentiaries to Paris for the purpose of treating for the establishment of peace between all the powers at war with England ; adding, that this must furnish a proof of

the good faith and of the sincere intention of France to put an end to the calamities of war." He notified, at the same time, "that he was authorized to give passports to the ministers appointed for that purpose." After a long correspondence, Mr. Canning informed the Austrian minister, that, "his Majesty could not again consent to send his plenipotentiaries to a hostile capital." The further interference of Prince Stahremberg was, at the same time, effectually prohibited by Mr. Canning informing him, "that his Majesty had not given him any authority to speak in the name of his Majesty to the government of France." The Austrian Ambassador immediately demanded his passports; and Austria was added to the list of our enemies.

In October, 1808, the Emperors of France and Russia met in amity at Erfurth, for the purpose of adjusting the peace of Europe, and avoiding the delays and alledged equivocations, which had attended former negociations: and, as England had recently declared that she continued the war for Russian objects, the participation of Russia in the first overture, appeared likely to remove every difficulty. The two Emperors accordingly addressed the following perspicuous letter to the king of England:

"SIRE,

"The present circumstances of Europe have brought us together at Erfurth. Our first thought is to yield to the wish and the wants of every people, and to seek in a speedy pacification with your Majesty, the most efficacious remedy for the miseries which oppress all nations. We make known to your Majesty our sincere desire in this respect by the present letter.

"The long and bloody war which has torn the continent is at an end, without the possibility of being renewed. Many changes have taken place in Europe, many states have been overthrown. The cause is to be found in the state of agitation and misery in which the stagnation of maritime commerce has placed the greatest nations. Still greater changes may yet take place, and all of them contrary to the policy of the English nation. Peace, then, is at once the interest of the Continent, as it is the interest of the people of Great Britain.

"We unite in entreating your Majesty to listen to the voice of

humanity, silencing that of the passions; to seek to conciliate all interests, with the intention of arriving at the object, and by that means to preserve all the powers which exist, and so insure the happiness of Europe and of this generation, at the head of which Providence has placed us.

"ALEXANDER.—NAPOLEON."

To this overture, characterized by a frankness which has perhaps no example in ancient or modern history, Mr. Canning, the English secretary, replied to the Russian minister, that, "however desirous his Majesty might be to reply directly to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, he found it impossible to adopt that mark of respect towards the Emperor of Russia, without at the same time acknowledging titles which his Majesty never had acknowledged; that his Majesty will hasten to communicate to his Majesty the King of Sweden, and to the existing government of Spain, the proposals which have been made to him, and that it is absolutely necessary his Majesty should receive an immediate assurance that France acknowledges the government of Spain as party to any negociation, and that such is the intention of the Emperor of Russia his Majesty cannot doubt." To this unhappy answer the Russian and French ministers replied in a style which bordered on remonstrance, in which the Russian minister exclaimed that, "after fifteen years of war Europe had a right to demand peace;" and the French minister contended, "that the French government had as much right to demand the admission of the Irish insurgents to be parties to the negociation as the English had to claim the admission of the Spanish insurgents." Mr. Canning, in his reply to the Russian minister, appealed "with much energy to Russia against France;" and, in his answer to the French minister, he insisted, "that the cause of the Spanish insurgents was that of the Spanish nation, and the legitimate monarchy of Spain, and that the central and supreme government, acting for Ferdinand VII. must be a party

to the negociation." No answers were given, and thus the alleged purpose of the imperial meeting at Erfurth was unfortunately deprived of its effect.

In the month of February 1810, Buonaparté gave the government of Holland to understand, "that its political existence as an independant state would depend upon the disposition of the British government with respect to peace with France." In consequence of this Mr. Labouchere was dispatched, at the instance of Louis Buonaparté and the Dutch government, from Amsterdam to London, to lay this state of affairs before the British ministry, and to impress upon them how much it would be for the advantage of England that Holland should not fall under the sovereign dominion of the French empire, but remain an independant power. On his arrival in London he had an audience with the marquis of Wellesley; to whom he communicated the substance of his instruction, and on whom it appears he endeavoured to impress the conviction, "that the general interest, well understood, and the lasting prosperity of every commercial state, imperiously required that the crisis in which Holland was, should not be looked at with indifference." To this application no official reply was made; but from the verbal communications of Lord Wellesley, and the general observations and information of Mr. Labouchere, it appeared to him, as stated in his report to the Dutch government, "that the main question of peace or war engaged little of the public attention. That they were reconciled by habit to the continuance of the war; and that its consequences far from being felt, were rather favourable to private interest. That it must not, however, be inferred that a settled resolution had been taken to reject all proposals for peace, but that probably, if France shewed any inclination of this kind, the British ministry would afford many facilities; but that under all the considerations of the times, those which related to Holland were only of a secondary and very

remote interest; and that the conviction of the impossibility that any convention respecting that country, could ever, under the influence of France, offer any chance of security to England, unless it was connected with a general arrangement, had blunted all the feeling which Holland could otherwise have inspired—so far indeed as not to draw any attention to the very important motives which should induce them to consider this question separately, and under an immediate point of view."—In consequence of this, the Dutch envoy took his departure from this country, and Holland composed an integral part of the dominions of France. Thus the very object for which the war was ostensibly commenced, was given up without an effort. On this singular transaction, which was not publicly known in this country till about twelve months after it had taken place, and which we believe never became the subject of parliamentary discussion, we shall only remark; that although Holland was acting under the influence and control of France, yet, whilst she existed under a separate government, there still remained a possibility of detaching her, under favourable circumstances, and even of directing her power against our enemies. She was an implement, grasped for the present by the French ruler, but which probably might have been wrested from, and turned against him; whereas she also was annihilated, and her population and resources added to the immense mass of the French empire. And thus, whilst we were interesting ourselves with the capture or the loss of a frigate, alterations were silently suffered to take place in the affairs of Europe which consolidated the dominions of our enemies, and confirmed that power which the object of the war was to destroy.

On the 17th of April, 1812, the French minister of Foreign Affairs addressed a letter to the English Foreign Minister, stating, that Napoleon, "constantly actuated by sentiments friendly to mo-

deration and peace, again made a solemn and sincere attempt to put an end to the miseries of war." In proof of the sincerity of the overture, the French minister submitted a project of the terms on which peace might be concluded, stating that, " as the affairs of the peninsula, and the two Sicilies, were the points of difference which appeared least to admit of being adjusted, he was authorized to propose an arrangement on the following basis: the integrity of Spain to be guaranteed; France to renounce all idea of extending her dominion beyond the Pyrenees. The present dynasty to be declared independent, and Spain to be governed by a National Constitution of her Cortes.—The independence and integrity of Portugal to be also guaranteed, and the House of Braganza to have the sovereign authority. —The kingdom of Naples to remain in possession of the present monarch, and the kingdom of Sicily to be guaranteed to the present family of Sicily; and, as a consequence of these stipulations, Spain, Portugal, and Sicily, to be evacuated by the French and English land and naval forces.—With respect to the other objects, he proposed that each power should retain that of which the other could not deprive it by war; and stated that, the Emperor, in taking this step, did not look either to the advantages or losses which France might derive from the war, if it should be prolonged; but was influenced simply by considerations for the interests of humanity, and the peace of his people; and if this fourth attempt should not be attended with success, like those which had preceded it, France would, at least, have the consolation of thinking, that, whatever blood might yet flow, would be justly imputable to England alone." To these overtures Lord Castlereagh replied, that " If, as his Royal Highness feared, the meaning of the proposition was, that the royal authority of the Spain, and the government established by the Cortes, shall be recognized as residing in the brother of the head of the French government, and the Cortes formed un-

der his authority, and not in the legitimate sovereign Ferdinand VII. and his heirs, and the Extraordinary Assembly of the Cortes, now invested with the power of the government in that kingdom in his name; he was commanded frankly and explicitly to declare, that the obligation of good faith do not permit his Royal Highness to receive a proposition for peace founded on such a basis.—But, if the expressions apply to the actual government of Spain, which exercises the sovereign authority in the name of Ferdinand VII. upon an assurance to that effect, the Prince Regent will feel himself disposed to enter a full explanation upon the basis which has been transmitted, in order to be taken into consideration by his Royal Highness; it being his most earnest wish to contribute, in concert with his allies, to the repose of Europe, and to bring about a peace which may be at once honorable, not only for Great Britain and France, but also for those States which are in relations of amity with each of these powers."

We might fill a chapter with observations on these successive proposals and their respective answers—on the spirit indicated by the two parties—on the impossibility of peace being at any time concluded if the overtures of one party were coldly rejected, without some proposed modification, or some conciliatory counter-projet—on the magnitude of the concession made by a soliciting part—on the presumption of sincerity, afforded by a first overture—on the impropriety of carrying a pre-existing hostile spirit into negociation—on the unreasonableness of demanding concessions as a basis which involves the consequences of successful war—on the ungraciousness of not recognizing the dignities of those who represent a nation, and are competent to wield its powers of aggression—on the impractability of concluding any peace, if all the real or assumed allies and auxiliaries of the principal belligerents are to be made assenting parties to the preliminary basis—on the impossibility of peace being negociated

as long as either party envelopes itself in general demands of undescribed satisfaction, and in sweeping accusations of undefined, and perhaps of *undefinable* aggressions—and finally, on the interminable duration of war, if its unhappy and destructive *consequences* in one year, are to be assumed as justifiable *causes*, of its continuance during succeeding years. We submit these, and other considerations, to the intelligence of our readers, in thus collecting into one point of view, the results of the attempts that have been made to put an end to a war, which had already covered with blood the fairest portion of the civilized world, and carried sorrow and misery into every family of all those countries which, by eminence, bear the name of christian.

Unfortunately for mankind, the Emperor of Russia, whose personal virtues we venerate, and from whose moderation we candidly confess we expected pacific proposals, elated with the discomfiture the French Emperor met with in Russia, which was owing more to the severity of the climate than to Russian military tactics, lost all sight of that blessing—peace, at this time; conceiving that he should be able to make another coalition of the Northern powers, and *dictate* to Napoleon the terms of a continental one. Under this impression he issued the following

PROCLAMATION.

"When the Emperor of all the Russias was compelled by a war of aggression, to take arms for the defence of his states, his Imperial Majesty, from the accuracy of his combinations, was enabled to form an estimate of the important results which that war might produce with respect to the independence of Europe. The most heroic constancy, the greatest sacrifices have led to a series of triumphs; and, when the commander-in-chief, prince Kutusoff Smolensko, led his victorious troops beyond the Niemen, the same principles still continued to animate the sovereign. At no period has Russia been accustomed to practice that art, too much resorted to in modern wars, of exaggerating, by false statements, the success of her arms. But with whatever modesty her details might now be penned, they would appear incredible. Ocular witnesses are necessary to prove the facts to France, to Germany, and to Italy,

befote the slow progress of truth will fill those countries with mourning and consternation. Indeed it is difficult to conceive that in a campaign of only four months duration, 130,000 prisoners should have been taken from the enemy, besides 900 pieces of cannon, 49 stand of colours, and all the waggon-train and baggage of the army. A list of the names of all the generals taken is hereunto annexed. It will be easy to form an estimate from that list of the number of superior and subaltern officers taken. It is sufficient to say, that out of 300,000 men (exclusive of Austrians) who penetrated into the heart of Russia, not 30,000 of them, even if they should be favoured by fortune, will ever revisit their country. The manner in which the emperor Napoleon repassed the Russian frontiers can assuredly be no longer a secret to Europe. So much glory and so many advantages, cannot, however, change the personal dispositions of his Majesty the emperor of all the Russias. The grand principles of the independence of Europe, have always formed the basis of his policy, for that policy is fixed to his heart. It is beneath his character to permit any endeavours to be made to induce the people to resist the oppression and to throw off the yoke which has weighed them down for twenty years. It is their government whose eyes ought to be opened by the actual situation of France. Ages may elapse before an opportunity equally favorable again presents itself, and it would be an abuse of the goodness of Providence not to take advantage of this crisis *to re-construct the great work of the equilibrium of Europe*, and thereby to insure public tranquillity and individual happiness."

The expectation of the friends of peace were disappointed in their most sanguine hopes, and the world witnessed in the ensuing year, the devastation and ravages, that 1,000,000 of men in arms carried over the fairest provinces of Europe.

To those who make the affair of war a matter of calculation, we shall present a view of the finances of the British empire at this time. In the winter quarter for 1812, *the consolidated fund* produced 9,658,000*l.* with extras, 11,358,000*l.* and in 1813, but 8,756,575*l.* with extras, 10,338,340*l.* being a deficiency of above 1,000,000*l.* while there had been an increase on the charge of 900,000*l.* so that the charge exceeded the produce by 1,382,000*l.* and on this fund the annual deficit will be above 5,000,000*l.*

The war taxes too fell in the same quarter, from

4,064,000*l.* to 3,422,000*l.* making a total deficit of nearly EIGHT MILLIONS in the year! The returns make the revenue 59,000,000*l.* and the expenditure was nearly 120,000,000*l.*

Let every friend to his country contemplate this enormous deficiency, and reflect what the effect must be when the nation is restored to a state of tranquillity. As every state of Europe, when that period arrives, will endeavour to resume their manufactures, and exclude those of England; what, I say, must be its effect upon Britain. The contemplation is horrible!—the encrease of a manufacturing population, from the disbanding of her army and navy, together with a decrease of her manufactures, and a treble ratio of taxation, the consequence of the profligate expenditure during the war, will so derange her system that universal bankruptcies and unparalleled distress will pervade all classes of society for many years; and perhaps, finally, end in a revolution; as no expedient is possible to be found in the situation England will be placed, to meet the heavy pressure of taxation, in consequence of the enormous debt that must be accumulated by a prolongation of hostilities.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Empress of France declared Regent.—Napoleon concludes a Concordat with the Pope.—Address to the Legislative Assembly.—Exposé.—Beauharnois appointed Commander-in-Chief.—Hopes of the Bourbons.—Address of Louis XVIII.—Observations.—Napoleon's Address at the Close of the Legislative Assembly.—Reflections.

THE belligerent states, unable to prosecute hostilities with vigor, at this season of the year, were using every exertion to recruit their armies for the ensuing spring.

The emperor of Russia had his head-quarters at Konigsburg, and the king of Prussia had removed from Berlin to Breslaw. Napoleon employed his time in reviews and preparations for the ensuing campaign, omitting no means of proving his confidence in its result, by passing some of his time in hunting, at the theatres, &c. To secure his empire from any shock it might sustain, in case of his death, he, by a formal legislative provision, constituted the Empress-mother regent, during the minority of the king of Rome.

However depressed the emperor might have been by the recent disasters in Russia, his mind rose above them, and by one of those grand strokes of policy, which he generally resorted to, when circumstances were unpropitious, surmounted most of those difficulties, and added unity to his empire.

With a view to conciliate the clergy of France, at this period, he embraced the opportunity, together with his Empress, of visiting Pius VII. at Fontainbleau, and concluded a concordat with his Holiness, which professed to put a termination to the differences that had arisen between them, and to provide against the difficulties that had taken place in the affairs of the church. The prominent features of which were, that his Holiness should exercise the pontificate in France, and in the king-

dom of Italy, in the same manner and forms as his predecessors. All ambassadors and ministers from foreign powers to his Holiness, and from his Holiness to foreign powers, should enjoy the same privileges and immunities as were enjoyed by the diplomatic body. The domains belonging to the Holy Father, that had not been alienated, should be restored and be exempted from all imposts, and 2,000,000 of francs be paid to his Holiness as a compensation for ecclesiastical property alienated. That his Holiness should have the approval of all bishops nominated by his Majesty, before they entered upon their diocese, and that no see should be vacant more than six months. The restoration of many of the consecrated bishoprics, together with several minor regulations of the Gallic church;—and also he restores his good favor to those cardinals and bishops, priests and lay brethren who had incurred his displeasure, in consequence of actual events: and his Holiness agreed to the above regulations, in consideration of the present state of the church, and in the confidence with which the Emperor inspired him, that he will grant his powerful protection to the numerous wants which religion suffered at that time.

By this piece of policy, his Majesty acquired a vast acquisition of strength, and, in a great measure, allayed the ferment that had arisen from the unfortunate issue of the invasion of Russia. The old republicans, (of which there were many eminent characters at that time in the employ of the state,) viewed this measure with a jealous eye, suspecting this to be another effort of the Emperor's, to ensure his stability by sacrificing the principles with which the revolution was obtained, and going back to that system which had goaded France for so many centuries. Whether that was, or was not the true motive, it however reconciled the majority of the people, and enabled him, with a considerable degree of *éclat*, to meet the legislative assembly, and though the demands of the state were pressing,

he assured them that he would not impose any new burthens upon his people.

On the 14th of February, he went in great state from the Thuilleries (salvos of artillery announcing his progress) to the legislative assembly, where he delivered the following speech.—

"*Gentlemen, Deputies from the Departments to the Legislative Body,*

"The war again lighted in the north of Europe, offered a favourable opportunity to the projects of the English upon the peninsula. They have made great efforts. All their hopes have been deceived. Their army was wrecked before the citadel of Burgos, and obliged, after having suffered great losses, to evacuate the Spanish territory.

"I myself entered Russia. The French arms were constantly victorious in the fields of Ostrowno, Polotsk, Mohilow, Smolensk, Moscow, Malairaslovitz. The Russian armies could not stand before our armies. Moscow fell into our power.

"Whilst the barriers of Russia were forced, and the impotency of her arms acknowledged, a swarm of Tartars turned their parricidal hands against the finest provinces of that vast empire, which they had been called to defend. They, in a few weeks, notwithstanding the tears and despair of the unfortunate Muscovites, burned more than 4000 of their finest villages, more than 50 of their finest towns: thus gratifying their ancient hatred, under the pretext of retarding our march, by surrounding us with a desert.—We triumphed over all these obstacles. Even the fire of Moscow, by which, in four days, they annihilated the fruits and labours of four generations, changed in no respect the prosperous state of my affairs.

"But the excessive and premature rigour of the winter, brought down a heavy calamity upon my army. In a few nights I saw every thing change—I experienced great losses—They would have broken my heart, if, under such circumstances, I could have been accessible to any other sentiments, than those of the interest, the glory, and the future prosperity of my people.

"On seeing the evils which pressed upon us, the joy of England was great—her hopes had no bounds. She offered our finest provinces as the reward of treason. She made, as the conditions of peace, the dismemberment of this vast empire;—it was, under other terms, to proclaim *perpetual war*.

"The energy of my people under these great circumstances: their attachment to the integrity of the empire; the love which they have shewn me, have dissipated all these chimeras, and brought back our enemies to a more just consideration of things.

"The misfortunes produced by the rigor of hoar-frosts have

made apparent in all their extent, the grandeur and the solidity of this empire, founded upon the efforts and the love of fifty millions of citizens, and upon the territorial resources of one of the finest countries in the world.

" It is with a lively satisfaction that we have seen our people of the kingdom of Italy, those of ancient Holland, and of the United Departments, rival with old France, and feel that there is for them no future hope but in the consolidation and the triumph of the grand empire.

" The agents of England propagate among all our neighbours the spirit of revolt against sovereigns. England wishes to see the whole continent become a prey to civil war, and all the furies of anarchy; but Providence has designed her herself to be the first victim of anarchy and civil war.

" I have signed with the Pope a Concordat, which terminates all the differences that unfortunately had arisen in the church. The French dynasty reigns, and will reign, in Spain. I am satisfied with all my allies; I will abandon none of them. I will maintain the integrity of their states. The Russians shall return into their frightful climate.

" I desire peace; it is necessary to the world. Four years after the rupture which followed the treaty of Amiens, I proposed it in a solemn manner. I will never make but an honourable peace, and one conformable to the interest and grandeur of my empire. My policy is not mysterious; I have stated all the sacrifices I could make.

" So long as this maritime war shall last, my people must hold themselves ready to make all kinds of sacrifices, because a bad peace would make us lose every thing, even hope—and all would be compromised,—even the prosperity of our descendants.

" America has had recourse to arms, to make the sovereignty of her flag respected. The wishes of the world accompany her in this glorious contest. If she terminates it by obliging the enemies of the continent to acknowledge the principle, that the flag covers the merchandize and crew, and that neutrals ought not to be subject to blockades upon paper, (the whole conformable to the stipulations of the treaty of Utrecht) America will have credit from all nations: posterity will say, that the whole world had lost its rights, and that the new one re-conquered them

" My minister of the interior will explain to you in the *Exposé* of the situation of the empire, the prosperous state of agriculture, manufactures, and of our interior commerce, as well as the still constant increase of our population. In no age has agriculture and manufactures been carried to a higher degree of prosperity in France.

" I want great resources to meet the expences which circumstances demand; but, by means of the different measures which my minister of finances will propose to you, I shall not impose any new burthen on my people."

The Emperor with a view of strengthening and keeping up a good understanding with his troops, made numerous promotions, and erected into a principality, under the title of Moskwa, the castle of Rivoli, in the department of the Po, and the land annexed to it, which was conferred upon the marshal duke of Elchingen, as a reward for his brilliant services in the Russian campaign. To reconcile the nation to its late reverses, he particularly points out, in his *exposé*, the advantages that had accrued to it from its liberal code of laws—the diffusion of wealth among all classes—the improved state of agriculture—the speedy termination of law-suits—the suppression of tithes—the best money system in Europe—the increase of manufactures, and the rapid intercourse between the most distant parts of the empire, which he markedly contrasted with the system pursued under the Bourbon government.

EXPOSÉ

Of the SITUATION *of the* FRENCH EMPIRE, *presented to the* LEGISLATIVE BODY, *on the 26th of Feb.* 1813.

"GENTLEMEN,

"His Majesty has ordered me to inform you of the situation of the empire in the years 1811 and 1812. You will see with satisfaction, that notwithstanding the great armies, which the state of the maritime and continental war obliges us to keep on foot, the population continues to increase; that our industry has made new progress; that the lands have never been better cultivated, nor the manufactories more flourishing; that never, at any epoch of our history, have riches been more spread among the different classes of society.

"The simple cultivator at this time knows enjoyments to which he was formerly a stranger; he purchases at a higher price such lands as suit him best; his clothing is better, his food more abundant, and more substantial; he rebuilds his houses, and makes them more commodious and substantial.

"New inventions in agriculture, in industry, and in the useful arts, are not rejected, merely because of their being new. Every where trials are made, and such as experience proves to be preferable, are usually substituted for the old routines; the artificial sheep-walks are multiplied; the system of fallowing is discontinued: inclosures less extensive, and new cultivation augment the produce of our lands; the cattle multiply, and their breed is ameliorated; the lowest farmers have acquired the means of obtaining, at high prices, the rams of

the Spanish breed, and the stallions of our best kind of horses. Become enlightened to their true interests, they do not hesitate making them useful purchases; thus the wants of our manufactures, our agriculture, and our armies, become every day more assured of relief. This degree of prosperity is owing to the liberal laws by which this great empire is governed: to the suppression of the feudal system, the tithes, the *Mains-mortes*, the monastic orders; a suppression which has constituted or rendered free, that great number of private estates, now become the free patrimony of a multitude of families hitherto of the lowest class: it is owing to the quality of partitions, to the clearness and simplicity of the laws on property, and on securities; to the promptitude with which law-suits, which are every day decreasing, are decided; it is to these same causes, and to the influence of vaccination, that the increase of the population should be attributed. And why should we not acknowledge to ourselves, that even the conscription itself, which every year causes the choice of our youth to range themselves under its banners, has contributed to this increase, by multiplying the number of marriages, in favouring them, by for ever fixing the fate of young Frenchmen, who have once obeyed the law?

"France, always tributary to foreigners for the greater part of its wants, without circulation among the interior towns, without certain employment to the inhabitants of the country, and without giving them proportionate wages, saw her commerce and her fortune concentrated in a few maritime cities, whose splendor we for the moment regret, but the influence of which was but little felt in the distant provinces. At present a more skilful agriculture yields a more considerable produce; great manufacturers bring into every district foreign arts; more abundant and better paid labour makes the people forget their privations. But nevertheless, far from us be the idea of any injustice towards those anterior times; much was then done, but we have surpassed the hopes of our forefathers.

"The population of France was, in 1789, 26,000,000, by estimate: it is now 28,700,000 by census, being an increase of 2,700,000 in 24 years.

"The value of the agricultural produce of France, in corn, wine, oil, cattle, mineral substances, &c. is 5,031,000,000 livres.

"The value of manufactures of silk, wool, metal, glass, porcelain, &c. is stated at 1,300,000,000. Besides these, a most important revolution is preparing, which must change all the commercial relations existing since the discovery of the Indies; these are manufactures to supply the place of sugar, indigo, and cochineal, the value of which produce is stated at 65,000,000, making in the whole, 6,396,000,000. But these substances are not all yet manufactured so as to be fit for use, the corn is not made into bread, stuffs are not manufactured into clothing! by which the definitive amount of all these va-

lues will be augmented, at least, by one-tenth, or 639,600,000 and their total value will become 7,035,600,000.

"The exportations of France, in 1812, are stated to have amounted to 333,000,000. The importations, not including 93,000,000 of specie, to 257,000,000. The excess of the exportations was therefore 126,000,000. This balance of commerce in 1788, the most favorable ancient period, was only 75,000,000.

"It is to the territorial situation which has been just described, that we owe the state of our finances, the enjoyment of the best money-system in Europe, the absence of all paper-money, a debt reduced to what it ought to be to supply the wants of capitalists. It is this situation, gentlemen, which enables us to support at once a maritime war, and two continental wars, to have 900,000 men constantly under arms, to maintain 100,000 sailors, to keep 100 ships of the line, and as many frigates complete or building, and to expend every year from 120 to 150 millions in public works.

"France suffered by the events of Toulon, the civil war of the South, of La Vendée, of the West, by the affairs of Quiberon, very great losses; the best officers of her *marine*, the *élite* of the masters, mates, and crews, perished there. Our squadrons, since that epoch, have been manned by crews but little disciplined. The *insufficiency* of the maritime inscription has been acknowledged, and every year the means which it offered have been *decreasing*, the inevitable result of the enemy's constant superiority, and of the almost entire destruction of our maritime commerce.

"It is no longer possible to dissemble, that we must either despair of the restoration of our marine in time of war, or have recourse to new measures. In adopting the first course, we should act as the administration under Louis XIV. and Louis XV. did, discouraged by the defeat of La Hogue, and the consequence of the war of 1758. At both epochs the marine was renounced; they discontinued constructing; the resources of the finances were directed to the land army, and other departments; but the results of this abandonment were *very fatal* to the glory and prosperity of France. England gave the law to us; she imposed treaties upon us, which we must be able to tear from our annals. We were ourselves obliged to demolish our ports, and to receive English commissioners to superintend the demolition of them. By a consequence too natural, of the superiority of her forces, England imposed upon us commercial treaties destructive to our industry; and when she judged proper to make war, to pillage our commerce, to seize upon our establishments in the different parts of the world, she found us without naval force, and without any means of defending our flag. From hence that contempt which the people of England expressed on all occasions for us.

"The administration under Louis XIV. and Louis XV. was obliged to adopt the fatal part of renouncing the marine, through the derangement of our finances, or through the real impossibility in which France, in her ancient limits, was of constructing and organizing great fleets in time of war.

"Scarcely any thing is possible to be done at Brest; or at least, every thing is very difficult there, when that port is blockaded by a superior squadron; but it is probable that financial reasons—the wants which continental wars occasioned, and the difficulty of re-creating the marine, concurring with the little energy of the administration,—occasioned the desperate resolution of allowing our marine to perish.

"The losses which our squadrons have since experienced, the immediate fruits of our civil dissensions, have placed us in a situation similar to that of the administration of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. but if the situation is similar the other circumstances are different in every point. The possession of Holland—of the Scheldt—the extension of our power upon the coasts of the Adriatic—the ports of Genoa and Spezzia—all the coasts of the Rhine and the Meuse, afford us maritime means of very different importance from those who possessed the ancient monarchy; we can construct fleets, without the enemy's superiority being able to prevent, or render them expensive. The judicious administration of the finances of the empire, places us in a situation to meet the expences, which the establishment of a grand marine, and satisfying the expences of continental wars, occasion. In short, the energy of our government, its firm and constant will, was alone capable of overcoming the greatest obstacles. The administration of the marine nevertheless felt the necessity of adopting a fixed and calculated system, which should keep pace with the creation or re establishment of ports, the construction of vessels, and the instruction of the sailors.

"In the channel nature has done every thing for England; she has done nothing for us. From the reign of Louis XIV. the importance of having a port on that sea was felt; the project of Cherbourg was adopted, and the foundations of the banks laid. But in our civil troubles, all these works interrupted were injured; every thing became a doubt in respect of place; and it was asked if it would not be better to prefer La Hogue to Cherbourg.

"The administration fixed its attention upon these important questions. The decision in favour of Cherbourg was confirmed; and immediately the elevation of the banks to shelter the road was commenced.

"Holland contained a population which has always distinguished itself in the marine; but ships of Dutch construction cannot be usefully employed in the present contest. Quickness of sailing is one of the elements of maritime war, and the vessels of Holland appear rather constructed to carry me

chandise, than give battle. These industrious people had performed miracles to overcome the obstacles, in appearance insurmountable, of its localities, but they had but imperfectly succeeded.

"The administration felt that there was in Holland but a *single port*, a single dock-yard—one only remedy for all the inconveniences of the localities; and it removed the maritime forces of Holland to Niewe Diep. Although it is *only two years* since this project was conceived, we already enjoy all its advantages, and by this means a new port is found to be in our power at the extremity of the North Sea.

"At the same time that ports are constructed or fortified, the establishment of dock-yards for the construction of ships was thought of: under the ancient dynasty we were reduced to less than 25.

"Brest could, at most, afford the means for repairing; we were obliged either to give up all idea of construction, or establish upon the Scheldt a dock yard, in which 20 three-deckers, 80 or 74 gun ships, might at once be built.

"We acknowledge the possibility of constructing in the dock yards of Rotterdam and Amsterdam, frigates and ships of 74 guns of our model, whilst the dock yards and establishments should be formed at Niewe Diep. In the dock yards of Cherbourg are constructing three-deckers, and ships of 80 and 74 guns. In Genoa and Venice, vessels are building. The dock yards of L'Orient, Rochefort, and Toulon, continue to have that activity of which they are susceptible.

"In a few years we shall have 150 ships, of which 12 will be three deckers, and a still greater number of frigates.

"We can easily construct and arm from 15 to 20 ships of the line, each year. But it may be asked, where will sailors be found to man these squadrons? Camps and exercising form an army in a few years; but where will that be found to replace camps and exercising for marine forces? Colbert's institutions, and the principles which he laid for the recruiting of naval forces, were almost null; our maritime commerce was extremely reduced. He admitted as an axiom—*no commerce, no military marine*; it was, however, bad reasoning, for it might have been said with as much justness—*no military marine, no commerce.* The administration then conceived the idea of recruiting the naval forces in the same manner as the land, to have recourse to the *conscription*, without abandoning the resources the *inscription* might produce. The maritime departments were, in fact, exempted from the conscription of the land army, and *all their youth* called to the maritime conscription.

"The most experienced seaman wished that this conscription should extend from the age of from 10 to 12 years; pretending that it was impossible to make a seaman of a man of mature age. But how conceive the possibility of crowding together in ships 60 or 80,000 infants! The expence required

for the instruction for ten years was alarming, A middle mean was adopted—young men of 16 and 17 years were called to the maritime conscription.

" It might be expected that in four or five years they would become skilful sailors; but how instruct so great a number of young men to navigate, when the sea was almost every where interdicted to us? Flotillas were constructed; 5 or 600 vessels, brigs, gun-boats, &c. were navigated upon the Zuydersee, the Scheldt, &c.

" From time to time they manned our squadrons in Toulon, &c. and fulfilled the expectations formed of them: our squadrons now perform their evolutions with as much promptitude and precision as at any epoch in the history of our marine.

" During the five years this system has been adopted, 80,000 young men, drawn from the conscription, have thus augmented our marine.

" Much constancy was requisite to resolve upon all the sacrifices which such a system cost us.

" In short, of our 100 vessels, we have now 65 armed, equipped, and provisioned for six months; constantly appearing in such a situation that no one knows at the moment of weighing anchor, whether it is to exercise, or for a distant expedition.

" This *Maritime Conscription* produces 20,000 young men annually. The *Inscription* of the fishermen also produces very important resources. In short, at the moment when the continental peace shall have rendered disposable the conscription of the whole empire, we shall, at pleasure, be able to increase the maritime inscription.

" The guards of the ships (*Les Garnisons des Vaisseaux*) were drawn from the land army. A part of the duty of the guns on board was performed by the Imperial marine corps of gunners. The administration of the marine has requested that one or other should be restored to the army, and the service performed by the seamen. The advantage of this system was, that it was doubling our number of seamen—enabling us at any time, by sending garrison men and gunners on board our squadrons, to double their crews. The present circumstances in which we have to support two continental wars, make us appreciate the advantage of having in the army 40,000 old soldiers, equally proper for the land and sea service. It is their change of destination which has rendered necessary the calling out of the Maritime conscription for 1814."

An event occurred in the beginning of this year that gave rise to much conjecture as to the unanimity that prevailed in the French army. Murat gave up the command to Eugene Beauharnois, the viceroy of Italy, from indisposition it was pretended, but as every one believed, from disgust. It was an-

nounced that "Beauharnois was more accustomed to a grand administration, and possessed the entire confidence of the Emperor."

We cannot give credit to this view of the subject; For how did it happen, that at the moment of the greatest difficulty and peril, when the Emperor left the army, he should have selected Murat as the most proper person to command it? Had Murat been really indisposed, and had the state of his health been the sole cause of his returning from the command, the Emperor would hardly have accompanied the notification of this event with such praise of Beauharnois, as could not fail to hurt the feelings of Murat. But the consequences of the Russian campaign were every way so disastrous to the French, that the soldiers had become suspicious of their officers, the generals became dissatisfied with each other, and some of them became disgusted with the Emperor.

The hopes of the friends of the house of Bourbon began to revive at this time, much caution being observed in the conduct of some of the allies of Napoleon, which was considered as a prelude to their withdrawing from the coalition. The Russians kept slowly advancing upon the French, and in every rencontre prevailed, by dint of numbers.

Louis the XVIIIth, (who with his court were residing at Hatwell in England) took this opportunity of addressing the French nation, in hopes, by creating a civil war in France, the views of the emperor of Russia might be accelerated, and himself finally restored to the throne of France. And the king of Prussia, though he denounced general Von Yorck as a traitor, was very tardy in recruiting his army, and seemed only waiting for a favorable moment to desert the fortunes of Napoleon.

STATE PAPER.

ADDRESS *to the* PEOPLE *of* FRANCE.

"Louis XVIII. &c. &c.

"The moment is at length arrived when divine Providence appears ready to break in pieces the instrument of its wrath.

The usurper of the throne of St. Louis, the devastator of Europe, experiences reverses in his turn. Shall they have no other effect but that of aggravating the calamities of France; and will she not dare to overturn an odious power, no longer protected by the illusions of victory? What prejudices or what fears can now prevent her from throwing herself into the arms of her King; and from recognizing, in the establisment of his legitimate authority, the only pledge of union, peace, and happiness, which his promises have so often guaranteed to his oppressed subjects

"Being neither able nor inclined to obtain, but by their efforts, that throne which his rights and their affection can alone confirm, what wishes should be adverse to those which he has invariably entertained? What doubt can be started with regard to his paternal intentions?

"The King has said in his preceding declarations, and he reiterates the assurance, that the administrative and judicial bodies shall be maintained in the plenitude of their powers; that he will preserve their places to those who at present hold them, and who shall take the oath of fidelity to him; that the tribunals, depositaries of the laws, shall prohibit all prosecutions bearing relation to those unhappy times of which his return will have for ever sealed the oblivion; that, in fine, the code polluted by the name of Napoleon, but which, for the most part, contains only the ancient ordinances and customs of the realm, shall remain in force, with the exception of enactments, contrary to the doctrines of religion, which as well as the liberty of the people, has long been subjected to the caprice of the tyrant.

"The senate, in which are seated some men so justly distinguished for their talents, and whom so many services may render illustrious in the eyes of France and of posterity—that corps, whose utility and importance can never be duly appreciated till after the restoration,—can it fail to perceive the glorious destiny which summons it to become the first instrument of that great benefaction which will prove the most solid as well as the most honorable guarantee of its existence and its prerogatives?

"On the subject of property, the King, who has already announced his intention to employ the most proper means for conciliating the interests of all, perceives in the numerous settlements which have taken place between the old and the new land-holders, the means of rendering those cares almost superfluous. He engages, however, to interdict all proceedings by the tribunals, contrary to such settlements,—to encourage voluntary arrangements, and, on the part of himself and his family, to set the example of all those sacrifices which may contribute to the repose of France, and the sincere union of all Frenchmen.

"The King has guaranteed to the army the maintenance of

the ranks, employments, pay, and appointments, which it at present enjoys. He promises also to the generals, officers, and soldiers, who shall signalize themselves in support of his cause, rewards more substantial, distinctions more honorable, than any they can receive from an usurper,—always ready to disown, or even to dread their services. The King binds himself anew to abolish that pernicious conscription, which destroys the happiness of families and the hope of the country.

"Such always have been, such still are the intentions of the King. His re-establishment on the throne of his ancestors will be for France only the happy transition from the calamities of a war which tyranny perpetuates, to the blessings of a solid peace, for which foreign powers can never find any security but in the word of its legitimate sovereign."

This was a well timed address, and a great deal of good policy was disglayed in recognizing the institutions of government that had been formed during the reign of the Emperor, and guaranteeing the purchases of national property to the full extent, to the present holders; also the code Napoleon, that brilliant luminary of his government, which Louis had not liberality of sentiment enough to ascribe to it; but took considerable pains to state, that it only contained the ancient ordinance and customs of France.

The only objectionable parts, respected the clergy, and avows much alteration to be necessary. Here Louis shewed his weakness; known to be a bigot, the people had nothing to expect in the event of his restoration, but that all the institutions of the country would be paralyzed by the intolerance of the priests, who never could forgive the degradation they had suffered, by being rendered amenable to the same laws as the humble citizen. These laws had withdrawn the curtain of superstition, and shewed the presumed character of inviolability in the clergy, only screened the vices of the hypocrite. The law of the conscription he promised entirely to abolish, as it destroyed the happiness of families, and the hope of the country.

According to the practice of European states, this law seemed particularly severe; but we con-

tend, that a more equitable one was never formed under any government. Had the principle which this law embraces, been recognized in the world, the human species would not, for more than half the time since the creation, have been employed in cutting one another's throats.

It unfortunately happens, that all wars, of whatever description, is prompted by an opportunity of advantage to the *few*, by the destruction of the *many*. Now the law of conscription was calculated to make all persons to *feel* its effects equally in their families. When the families of the rich were not excluded from personal sacrifices, then the law of conscription became unjust and odious. Does not the mechanic or the husbandmen *feel* the same sympathy for their offspring as the nobleman or the bishop; and is their *agony* and *distress* to be as nothing, when the advantages of the privileged orders are at stake? But when *they* are compelled to make the same personal sacrifices, then the *happiness* of families are destroyed.

We could wish to see this law recognized in all states, as we are certain a greater proportion of happiness would be secured to society:—the law of personal service affecting all families alike.

On the 23rd of March, the Emperor, on his throne, received the Address from the Legislative Body, on the close of the session: to which he made the following reply.—

"Gentlemen Deputies,

"The Legislative Body has given me, during this short but important session, proofs of its fidelity and love—I am sensible of them. The French have entirely justified the opinion which I have always entertained of them. Called by Providence, and the will of the nation, to form this empire, my steps have been gradually uniform, analogous to the spirit of events, and to the interest of my people. In a few years this great work will be finished, and every thing which exists completely consolidated All my designs, all my undertakings, have but one object, the prosperity of the empire, which I will for ever render independent of the laws of England. History, which judges of nations as it judges of men. will remark with what calmness, what simplicity, and what promptitude, great losses have

been repaired; one may judge of what efforts the French would be capable, if the question was to defend their territory, or the independence of my crown. Our enemies have offered the King of Denmark our departments of the Elbe and the Weser, in compensation for Norway. In consequence of this project, they have formed plots in those countries. Denmark rejected those insidious proposals, the intent of which was, to deprive her of her provinces, and draw her in exchange into an eternal war with us. I will quickly place myself at the head of my troops, and confound the fallacious promises of our enemies. In any negociation, *the integrity of the empire neither has nor shall be called in question.* Immediately that the cares of war shall leave us one moment's leisure, we will recall you to this capital, as well as the great men of our empire, to assist at the coronation of the Empress, our well-beloved spouse, and of the hereditary prince, King of Rome, our dearly-beloved son. The thought of this great solemnity, at once religious and political, touches my heart; I shall hasten this epoch, to satisfy the wishes of France."

The French nation were made acquainted by this answer with the attempts making to seduce his allies from him, and his determination to frustrate their designs. This seemed the favourable time, with every possible experience to back it, for the governments of Europe to meet the feelings of rational freedom, and oppose force, not only as they ought, but as they must oppose her invaders, to take proper advantage of her reverses, and read the very lesson to HER tyranny that she read to THEIRS. We do not mean any sudden or extravagant alteration of their respective principles of government, but a reasonable diminution of selfishness—an earnest endeavour to shew that they fight for the *people* as well as *themselves.* A renouncement of all unwise and unseasonable attempts at encroachment and aggrandisement. In short, a proper appeal, wherever they go, to the public feelings, strengthened by the actual proofs of sympathy, by the loosening of as much arbitrary power as they can, and by the bestowal of rewards and privileges among all classes of men. If they can act in this manner, we see every reason to believe that the balance of power may once more be restored, and France confined to her proper limits.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Russia.—Its Military Preparations—Its Address to the Prussians.—Alexander's Address to his Subjects.—Defection of Prussia, and Treaty of Alliance with Russia.—Observations.—Napoleon's Preparations.—His Address to the Legislative Assembly.—King of Prussia's Address to his Subjects.

THE Russian nation having become, through the impolitic invasion of Napoleon, a military population, the Emperor was determined to profit by their enthusiasm, and in his turn, became the invader. In order to ensure success to his views, he ordered a general levy to be made throughout his immense empire (excepting the government of Moscow, on account of her late sufferings), of eight men out of every 500, and that the levy should take place in two weeks and end in four, from the publication of the order.

The Emperor Alexander now undertook to liberate Europe from the influence of Napoleon; and in order to convince the different states of the liberal policy he embraced, his views were explained by Kutusoff, the commander-in-chief, when he reached the Prussian frontiers, by the following address:—

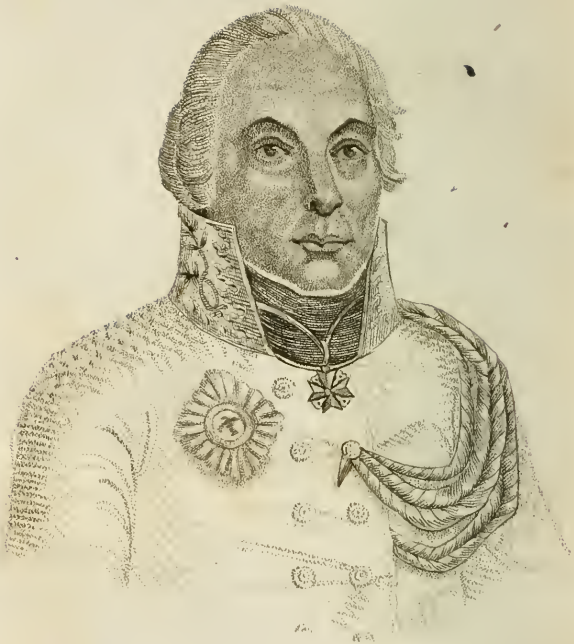
"At the moment of my ordering the armies under my command, to pass the Prussian frontier, the Emperor, my master, directs me to declare, that this step is to be considered in no other light than as the inevitable consequence of the military operations.—Faithful to the principles which have actuated his conduct at all times, his Imperial Majesty is guided by no view of conquest. The sentiments of moderation which have ever characterised his policy, are still the same, after the decisive successes with which divine Providence has blessed his legitimate efforts. Peace and independence shall be their result. These his Majesty offers, together with his assistance, to every people, who, being at present obliged to oppose him, shall abandon the cause of Napoleon in order to pursue their real interests. I invite them to take advantage of the fortunate opening which the Russian armies have produced, and to unite themselves with them in the pursuit of an enemy, whose precipitate flight has discovered his loss of

power. It is to Prussia in particular this invitation is addressed.—It is the intention of his Imperial Majesty to put an end to the calamities by which she is oppressed—to demonstrate to her King the friendship which he preserves for him, and to restore to the monarchy of Frederick its éclat and its extent. He hopes that his Prussian majesty, animated by sentiments which this frank declaration ought to produce, will, under such circumstances, take that part which the interest of his states demands. Under this conviction, the Emperor, my master, has sent me the most positive orders to avoid every thing that could betray a spirit of hostility between the two powers, and to endeavour, within the Prussian provinces, to soften, as far as a state of war will permit, the evils which for a short time must result from their occupation."

About the same time the Emperor issued another address to his subjects, on the final overthrow of the French armies, which paints, in strong colours, the devotion and patriotism of the Russian people.

"The world," said the Emperor, "has witnessed with what objects the enemy entered our dear country. Nothing could avert his malevolence. Proudly calculating on his own armies, and on those which he had embodied against us from all the European powers, and hurried on by a desire of conquest and thirst for revenge, he hastened to penetrate even into the bosom of our great empire, and to spread amongst us the horrors of a war of devastation. Having foreseen, by former examples of his unmeasured ambition, and the violence of his proceedings, what bitter sufferings he was about to inflict upon us, and seeing him already pass our frontiers, with a fury which nothing could arrest, we were compelled, though with a sorrowful and wounded heart, to draw the sword, and to promise to our empire that we would not return it to the scabbard so long as a single enemy remained in arms in our territory. We fixed firmly in our hearts this determination, relying on the valour of the people whom God has confided to us; and we have not been deceived. What proofs of courage, of piety, of patience, and of fortitude, has not Russia shewn? The enemy who penetrates to her bosom with all his characteristic ferocity, has not been able to draw from her a single sigh by the severe wounds he has inflicted. It would seem, that with the blood which flowed her spirit of bravery increased: that the burning villages animated her patriotism, and the destruction and profanation of the temples of God, strengthened her faith, and nourished in her the sentiment of implacable revenge. The army, the nobility, the gentry, all estates of the empire, neither sparing their property nor their lives, have breathed the same spirit—a spirit of courage and of piety, a love ardent for their God and their country. This

unanimity, this universal zeal, have produced effects hardly credible, and such as have scarcely existed in any age. Let us contemplate the enormous force collected from twenty kingdoms and nations, united under the same standard, by an ambitious and atrocious enemy, flushed with success which entered our country; half a million of soldiers, infantry and cavalry, accompanied by 1500 pieces of cannon. With forces so powerful, he pierces into the heart of Russia, extends himself, and begins to spread fire and devastation. But six months have scarcely elapsed since he passed our frontiers, and what has become of him? We may here cite the words of the holy Psalmist—"I myself have seen the ungodly in great power, and flourishing like a green bay tree.—I went by, and lo, he was gone: I sought him, but his place could no where be found." This sublime sentence is accomplished in all its force on our arrogant and impious enemy. Where are his armies, like a mass of black clouds which the wind had drawn together? they are dispersed as rain. A great part staining the earth with their blood, cover the fields of the governments of Moscow, Kaluga, Smolensk, White Russia, and Lithuania. Another part equally great, has been taken in the frequent battles with many generals and commanders. In fine, after numerous bloody combats, whole regiments imploring the magnaimtty of their conquerors, have laid down their arms. The rest, composing a number equally great, pursued in their precipitate flight by our victorious troops, overtaken by cold and hunger, have strewed the road from Moscow to the frontiers of Russia, with carcases, cannons, waggons, and baggage, so that, of those numerous forces, a very inconsiderable part, exhausted, and without arms, can with difficulty, and almost lifeless, return to their homes, to serve as a terrible example to their countrymen, of the dreadful sufferings which must overtake these rash men who dare to carry their hostile designs into the bosom of Russia. To-day we inform our well-beloved and faithful subjects, with a lively joy and grateful acknowledgments towards God, that the reality has surpassed even our hopes; and that what we announced at the commencement of this war, is accomplished beyond all expectation. There is no longer a single enemy in our territories, or rather, there they all remain; but in what state? Dead, wounded, and prisoners. Even their chief himself has, with the utmost difficulty, escaped with his principal officers, leaving his army dispersed, and abandoning his cannon, of which there are more than 1,000 pieces, exclusive of those buried or thrown into the water, which have been recovered, and are now in our hands.—This scene of destruction surpasses all belief. We almost imagine that our eyes deceive us. Who has been able to effect this? Without derogating from the merited glory of the commander-in-chief of our armies, this distinguished general who has rendered to



General L. Von York.

Pub by W. Day 43 Goswell St.t 1814.

his country services for ever memorable, and without detracting from the merits of other valiant and able commanders, who have distinguished themselves by their zeal and ardour, nor from the general bravery of their troops, we must confess that what they have accomplished surpasses all human power. —Acknowledge, then, Divine Providence in this wonderful event. Let us prostrate ourselves before his sacred throne, and acknowledging his divine hand chastening pride and impiety, instead of boasting and glorying in our victories, let us learn from this great and terrible example to be modest and peaceable executors of his law and his will; let us never resemble those impious profanators of the temples of God, whose carcases, without number, now serve as food for the fowls of the air. God is mighty in his kindness and in his anger. Let us be guided by justice in our actions, and purity in our sentiments, as the only path which leads to Him. Let us proceed to the temple of his sanctity, and there return him thanks for the benefits which he has bestowed upon us; and address to Him our ardent supplications, that he will extend to us his pardon,—put an end to the war,—and grant us victory on victory, until peace and tranquillity be firmly re-established."

This invitation had the effect of detaching the whole Prussian force, who, with 6,000 French, under the command of Macdonald, had been employed in the blockade of Riga; and the Russian army, in advancing to the Niemen, came upon the rear of that corps. Macdonald by retreating with the utmost expedition, succeeded in extricating himself; but D'Yorck felt no disposition to make such extraordinary efforts. He withdrew his whole force from the French army, and concluded a convention with the Russians, by which the Prussians were to remain neutral in Eastern Prussia. The orders which he sent to the Prussian general Massenbach, who remained with Macdonald at Tilsit, to join him, with the two batteries, six batallions and six squadrons of Prussian troops, were obeyed. Macdonald had taken some steps to detain the Prussian general, and disarm his troops; but the Prussians were aware of his intentions, and immediately began their march. Macdonald could not prevent or pursue them; and thus nearly the whole of the 10th corps, the only one which had not greatly suffered in the last campaign, was detached from the Emperor's

service, and might, in fact, be considered as part of the force destined to act against him.

This defection of the Prussian army deeply affected Napoleon; the effects of it to him was incalculable. He immediately issued a *senatus consultum*, for calling out 350,000 men, to enable him to meet the exigency that this circumstance had placed him in, and he called upon all sovereigns to unite their voices against such atrocious acts of perfidy, and to combine their power to prevent a recurrence of them.

Macdonald, with an army of 5,000 men, attempted a junction with some troops from Koningsberg, who came out to meet him, but they were compelled to fall back, by general Steingel, whom Wittgenstein had dispatched for that purpose, while he pursued Macdonald. Tchichagoff advanced along the course of the Pregel, preceded by Platoff and his cossacks, towards Koningsberg. General Schepeloff, who commanded Wittgenstein's van, reached that fortress by the way of Lebau, where the French had taken an advantageous position. A sanguinary combat took place on the 4th of January, which continued nearly the whole day, but the French were ultimately forced from their position and retired towards Koningsberg, which fortress, (the ancient capital of Prussia) general Schepeloff occupied on the 6th. Macdonald had ordered the town to be occupied by a *corps d'armie*, composed of the old French guards, and some troops who had escaped the general wreck of the enemy's grand army; but on the approach of the Russians, the French abandoned it, and retreated towards the Vistula. There were in Koningsberg 1,300 prisoners and 8,000 sick, and 30 pieces of the battering train from before Riga. On the 12th, Marienwoder, Marienberg, and Elbing surrendered. At Marienwoder, the viceroy of Italy and marshal Victor, had a narrow escape from being taken prisoner by a party of cossacks; general Le Piere, 4 officers, and 200 men, were

made prisoners; the French retired upon Dantzic, where the Russians followed. While these operations were carrying on in the neighbourhood of the Baltic, some advances were made against the Saxons and Austrians, beyond Warsaw. Schwartzenberg, the Austrian commander, divided his corps into three columns. General Duall approximated to Warsaw, by the way of Ostrolenka and Polatzk.

The inhabitants of Prussia everywhere received the Russian troops in a friendly manner, and supplied them cheerfully with provisions. The Russians maintained the most rigorous discipline. The retreat of the French, through the kingdom of Prussia, was like that from Moscow, marked with devastation, by the abandonment of their magazines, tumbrils, and stores of all description. On the 19th, the Emperor of Russia's head-quarters were at Ligne.

The situation of Prussia about this time was remarkably singular. The capital was in the hands of a French garrison, but the inhabitants favoured the Russians, and flattered themselves that the King, with the troops he was collecting in Silesia, under the pretence of recruiting the French army, would declare against Napoleon, whom they considered as their oppressor,—the armies of France being spread over the whole extent of Prussia.

What were the real intentions of the King, or whether he had yet come to a decision as to the line of policy he intended to pursue, it was still difficult to discover;—to judge from his conduct hitherto, as principal seemed never to have had influence upon him, it was more than probable that he would desert the fortunes of Napoleon at this time; interest being the predominant feature of his Majesty's actions. Throughout the month of January, the Prussian capital exhibited daily scenes of tumult and disorder; the populace having risen against the French, whom they succeeded in confining to their barracks. A regency

was immediately established, in the name of the King, at Koningsberg, of which the ex-minister Stein, who had become obnoxious to the French, on account of his opposition to any alliance with France, was placed at the head, as president. It immediately issued a proclamation calling on the loyal inhabitants of Prussia to rescue their King and country from French thraldom. General D'Yorck was nominated by the regency, commander-in-chief of the patriotic army. The tyranny exercised by the French *douaniers* had become so obnoxious, that thousands flocked to his standard, and the defection of Prussia might soon be calculated upon. The rapid advance of the Russians, as the season became more congenial, and the wide extent of country over which they were now scattered, proved that they were supported by a general insurrection. Had it not been so, the conduct of the Russians would have been inconsistent with the most obvious rules of prudence Instead of the line of the Vistula, or the intrenched camp of the Oder, which Napoleon acknowledged as the limit of his defensive operarions, his expectations was now confined to the army of observation of the Rhine.

The Russian army advanced 120 miles in seven days; the head-quarters being at Willanberg, to the west of the Warsaw road; by this diverge they had got into the rear of the Austrians position at Pultosk. Count Woronzoff had advanced to Bromberg, and made himself master of the large magagazines collected there by the French; to cover which, and to observe Thorn, general Tchichagoff approached the latter fortress.

The arrangements of the Russian cabinet, no less than the movements of her armies, indicated the most resolute hostility to the French system. Count Rotopschin, the governor of Moscow, was appointed minister of the interior of Russia, and the ex-Prussian minister, whose enmity to the French emperor had called forth a furious tirade

against him, was made a Russian cabinet minister. Kutusoff, Wittgenstein, and their brother generals, had the most distinguished honours conferred on them.

The Russians having arrived on the Vistula, the utmost deliberation was required in determining the course which it was now to follow. The French possessed along that river a range of fortresses, which commanded its course, and seemed to oppose a barrier against the further progress of the Russians. It was matter of deliberation, whether they should possess themselves of this line of defence previous to any future operation. This seemed the most prudent plan, and corresponded with the usage of war. But the energies of Russia were roused—she possessed a military population —the thirst of revenge was insatiable; the commanders, fully aware of the materials they had to work with, forsook the line of prudence, boldly pushed forward, certain of being received with open arms by the suffering Prussians. With respect to the danger of leaving behind them so many strong holds, the example of the French themselves had shewn, that there were circumstances in which, what might otherwise have been the height of imprudence, became perfectly safe. The hazard, which would have been serious, if entering into an hostile country with a powerful enemy in front, ceased to exert, when the French force was completely broken, and the whole country through which their pursuers were to pass, was enthusiastically devoted to their cause. Every circumstance shewed that the moment had arrived when the Russian armies could take ample vengeance upon the invaders of their country. They conceived it would have been madness in them to pause, until the mighty edifice, which for the first time had been made to totter, should be laid in the dust. The boldness and vigour of their conduct, contrasted with the caution which had marked their

proceedings in different circumstances, heightened greatly the impression of that wisdom by which their councils were guided.

The Russians invested Posen and Thorn. The French, who were shut up in Dantzic, made a sally for the purpose of procuring provisions, but a Cossack chief, with a celerity of movement that distinguishes that body, came in the rear of the French as they drove the Prussians from the village of Nenkau, falling unexpectedly upon them, the whole column was cut off from the city, and not a single man returned into the fortress; 600 men were cut down on the spot, and 200 privates, and 72 officers made prisoners. Prince Schwartzenberg continuing to fall back, general Miloradovitch took possession of the city of Warsaw. The commandant of Koningsberg was ordered to march against Pilau. It was immediately invested, and a summons sent to the commander to surrender; this measure led to a convention, and the garrison marched out on the 8th of February, after being in possession of it from the month of May, 1812. On the 9th, the Russian troops returned to the grand-army, leaving the town to be garrisoned by the Prussians. This sagacious policy of the Russians greatly assisted their exertions. Their advance was accompanied with every circumstance which was calculated to endear their cause to the nations around them. They resorted to the press as a powerful auxiliary for the overthrow of the continental system; they disseminated by its means, friendly addresses throughout the continent, and their conciliatory offers were received with joy at Warsaw, Berlin, Hamburgh, and Dresden. The press, which had latterly been fettered by Napoleon, and compelled to disseminate falsehoods throughout Europe, began, after the success of the Russians, to re-assume its legitimate functions.

Wherever the allies carried their arms, this powerful engine was occupied in exposing the deceit-

ful policy that had been so long pursued in subjugating the continent to the will of the French Emperor. Free enquiry must, in the end, be most beneficial to the interests of every state. Had Napoleon left the press unshackled, he would not now, in the hour of extremity, have felt its dreadful power. The channel of information had unwisely been perverted; and the desire of learning the real state of passing events was so great, that every journal which came to hand, acted like electric matter upon the population of the continent; it seemed as if they had, miraculously, acquired a new vision, and every petty town vied with each other how they could shew their greatest antipathy to the system by which they had so long been hoodwinked.

The vascillating King of Prussia, being removed from the immediate sphere of French influence, by retiring to Breslaw, was obliged by the unanimous declaration of his subjects, to assume a decisive line of action. He issued forth proclamations to his subjects, calling upon them to arm to support their King and country. This call was cheerfully obeyed, and volunteers from all parts presented themselves for enrolment. Beauharnois, the new commander-in-chief, of the French armies, forbad the recruiting enjoined by the royal decree. This had the contrary effect, and excited the indignation of the people.

The Austrians concluded an unlimited truce with the Russians, by virtue of which, they withdrew into Gallicia; and the Saxons, under Regnier, profited by this circumstance to retire to their own country. General Winzingerode came up with this body at Rastich. Regnier made his movements upon the city, to form a junction with 4,000 Poles, who had 15 pieces of cannon; after a most sanguinary conflict, the Russians captured 7 cannon, 2,000 privates, and 36 officers.

The undecisive King of Prussia, still doubtful whether he had chosen the strongest side, offered himself as a mediator between the chief belligc-

rents; he proposed a truce on condition that the Russian troops should retire beyond the Vistula, and the French behind the Elbe, leaving Prussia and all its fortresses free from occupation. These terms seemed very favourable to a discomfited enemy, who had so lately threatened to annihilate the independence of Russia and Prussia.—They were disdainfully rejected by the Emperor. Alexander profited by this measure, and evinced such sentiments of liberality toward the Prussian states and monarchy as could but ensure their cordial attachment. The patriots of Prussia remonstrated with their sovereign, and energetically insisted that there was but one line to be adopted—an alliance offensive and defensive, with Russia.

However unwise the policy of Napoleon might have been in neglecting the opportunity, still if we allow him to possess the properties of a human being, it cannot be wondered that he declined the measure, considering the soreness he must have felt at the perfidious conduct of that man, who owed his political existence to his forbearance and generosity.—What could have prevented Napoleon, had he so pleased, from reducing Frederic William of Prussia down to the level of a German count?

What other opinion can be entertained of such a government, but that of the utmost contempt. She, along with Austria, joined in the attempt to despoil France, under the shallow plea of aiding the Bourbons, and would willingly have acted by her as she had done by Poland. She soon, however, discovered her error, abandoned her good allies, and entered into a treaty of amity with the very men whom she had so fiercely denounced as rebels and regicides. When Austria was struggling for existence, Prussia repeatedly stood by, a willing spectator of her rival sufferer, forgetting in her malignity, that her own safety was hazarded by such a selfish policy.

It is needless, however, to enter upon a history

of the tergiversations of Prussia; her conduct towards this country will for ever fix the character of baseness upon her counsels, and entitle her rulers to an unmeasureable portion of contempt. After receiving subsidy upon subsidy from England,—after suffering herself, from the spoiling hand of France, of which she was never backward of complaining, at a time too when she had not sustained either insult or injury from this country, she consented to join France, against us, and then seizes upon Hanover; at once proclaiming her abominable meanness and rapacity*. For this piece of villany, a sort of an excuse has been attempted, by saying that the Prussians were then under the influence of the infamous Lucchesini, and other emissaries from France. Thus justifying his want of honesty by his want of intellect. But now, he is quite another man;—regenerated, and as it were born again:—

> "As carnal seamen in a storm,
> Grow pious converts, and reform."

This is certainly possible: we do not deny, that a prince may repent and be decent; but after a long course of iniquity, it is usual to experience some peculiar mark of grace in him for whom a new-birth is claimed, and nothing of the kind appeared in the conduct of this Anointed of Prussia.

Forced, by the unanimous wish of the Prussian nation, the King reluctantly issued the following proclamation, which contains a severe satire upon

* She was the first ally of France after the Revolution. Rejoicing in the misfortune of her Austrian rival, and speculating on her own future aggrandisement, through a French connexion, she had yet, in the moment of anger for the violation of her territory, been tempted to join the coalition of 1805, and actually signed a treaty to that effect, with Lord Harrowby; but quickly repenting of her rashness, after the battle of Austerlitz, *she disavowed her signature*, entered into fresh engagements with France, in the very palace of the Austrian monarch, with whom she had sent Kaunitz to negociate a common alliance; and in sign of her thorough repentance and allegiance, consented, at the instance of France, *to rob the King of England of his Hanoverian dominions.*

his vascillatings. He observes, that "there is no medium between an honourable peace or glorious war. Even this you would support for your *honour*, because no Prussian can live without it." How opposite had his conduct been throughout the war!

PROCLAMATION

Of the KING *of* PRUSSIA.

"TO THE PUBLIC,

"It is necessary to render an account to my good people of Germany of the motives for the war which is now commencing; they are evident to impartial Europe. Bent under the superior power of France, that peace, which deprived me of half my subjects, procured us no blessings; it on the contrary, hurt us more than war itself. The heart of our country was impoverished; the principal fortresses were occupied by the enemy; agriculture was neglected, as well as the industry of our cities, which had risen to a very high degree; liberty of trade being interrupted, naturally closed all the sources of ease and prosperity. By the most exact observance of the stipulated treaties, I hoped to attain an alleviation for my people, and at last to convince the French Emperor that it was his own interest to leave Prussia independent; but my intentions—my exertions to obtain so desirable an object, proved fruitless. Nothing but haughtiness and treachery were the result!—We discovered, though late, that the Emperor's conventions were more ruinous to us than his open wars. The moment is now arrived, in which no illusion respecting our condition can remain. Brandenburghers! Prussians! Silesians! Pomeranians! Lithuanians! you know what you have suffered during the last seven years; you know what a miserable fate awaits you, if we do not honourably finish the contest which is now commencing. Remember former times! Remember the illustrious Elector, the great Frederick! Remember the benefits for which our ancestors contended!—the liberty of conscience, honour, independence, trade, industry, and knowledge. Bear in mind the great example of our allies the Russians; think of the Spaniards and Portugueze. Small nations have even gone to battle for similar benefits, against a more powerful enemy, and obtained victory. Remember the Swiss and the Netherlands. Great sacrifices are required from all ranks; because our plan is great, and the number and means of our enemy not less so. You will make them sooner for your country, your King, than for a foreign Regent, who by so many examples has proved he would take your sons and last strength for designs to which you are strangers. Confidence in God, constancy, courage, and the powerful assistance of our allies, will favour our just cause with glorious vic-

tory. But, however great the sacrifices that may be required from individuals, they will not outweigh the sacred interests for which they are given.—for which we must combat and must conquer, or cease to be Prussians or Germans. We are now engaged in the last decisive contest for our existence—our independence—and our property. There is no medium between an honourable peace or glorious ruin. Even this you would sustain for your honour, because a Prussian or German cannot live without it. But we dare confidently trust, God and our firm purpose, will give our just cause victory, and with this an uninterrupted peace, and the return of happier times!

Breslau, March 17, 1813. FRED. WILLIAM."

While the diplomatic arrangements were concluding between Russia and Prussia, the commanders of the French armies in vain attempted to make a stand at Berlin. The inhabitants professed a most hostile spirit, and the French confessed that the Russian light troops, which approached Berlin, were conducted and re-inforced by the young men of that capital; several of whom were killed in the different skirmishes that took place in the suburbs. At the approach of the allied armies, the King of Saxony left Dresden, determined to adhere faithfully to the treaties that he had entered into with Napoleon.

Prussia now became one great mass. The whole country between the Elbe and the Oder, was divided into four military districts. The militia was called out; the *levy en-massé* was ordered: volunteers enrolled themselves on every side; 20,000 militia were collected at Koningsberg; and the national enthusiasm was universally directed to one point. On the 20th of March, Prussia issued an edict abolishing the continental system, and all French goods were prohibited under severe penalties. On the French army quitting Berlin, the Russians immediately entered that capital.

The torrent from the north rolled on; the barrier of the Vistula and the Oder proved inefficacious to stem it. The fidelity of the foreign troops in the service of France was suspected.

The Emperor of the French, thus circumstanced, deemed it necessary to make an addition to the immense preparations which he had already contemplated. Ninety thousand men of the conscription of 1814, who had been originally destined for the reserve, were now rendered disposable; and 90,000 more were raised by a retrospective conscription. The cities and municipalities were invited to equip more corps of cavalry, to replace that part of the army which had suffered in the Russian campaign. Napoleon, however, was aware that he could not at once lead these new levies against the enemy; every measure, therefore, which experience and ingenuity could suggest, was exhausted, to confer on them that discipline in which they were deficient.—Officers were procured, either by drafts from Spain, or by selecting the subalterns of the regiments which had escaped from Russia. A large camp was formed upon the Maine, where the preparation of the young soldiers for the field, could be carried on without danger of interruption from the approach of the enemy. The immense armies that Napoleon was accumulating, proved the unequalled vigour of his mind, and the great resources of his empire.

CHAP. XXXV.

Address of Russia and Prussia to the Germans.—Overtures of Denmark.—Affairs of Bremerlee, Lunenburgh, &c.—Proclamation of St. Cyr.—Death of Kutuzoff.—Advance of the Allies.—Arrival of Napoleon.—Advance of the French.—Battles of Weinenfels and Lutzen.—Death of the Duke of Istria.—Address of Napoleon to the Army.—Retreat of the Allies.—Hostility of the Danes.—Hamburgh taken by the Danes.—Capture of a large Convoy of the French.

RUSSIA and Prussia having made common cause against France, Prince Kutuzoff was appointed commander-in-chief, who, in the name of the two sovereigns, published an Address to the German nation. In this address they state their desire to re-establish Germany in her rights and independence—they would not tolerate that badge of a foreign yoke, the Confederation of the Rhine—they had no intention of disturbing France, nor of forcing, with their armies, its rightful frontiers—they desired that she might occupy herself in her own concerns, and not disturb the repose of other nations—they were anxious for peace, but for such a peace that should be founded upon a solid basis; and they concluded with announcing their determination not to lay down their arms, until the foundation of the independence of every European state should have been established and secured.

The unprosperous state to which the affairs of Napoleon was reduced, had, as it was natural to expect, a great influence on the policy of his allies. Denmark intimated a disposition to join the great confederacy of Europe. Her first overtures were made to Russia, under French influence, but there she failed; she continued negociations at her own capital, under the same influence, and there she failed also; she then turned her attention towards

England, where there was no such influence, but her proposals were considered so extravagant, that they were rejected, and the Danish minister took his departure. But although her attempts at negociation had no success, the momentary change which was thus produced upon her policy, had considerable influence on the affairs of Hamburgh, which, about this time, excited great interest in England.

The grand French army, including the division of general Grenier, amounting to 20,000 men, which in the beginning of January had hastened from Italy to the North, had been reduced, by many severe engagements, to about 18,000 men, had quitted Berlin to lay the basis of future operations in a more solid manner behind the Elbe. General Morand, who had kept possession of Swedish Pomerania, with about 3,000 men, followed the grand army, whose left wing was formed by the troops nnder his command. General Wittgenstein dispatched Baron Tenterborne with a division of troops in the direction of Hamburgh. He was at Lunburg when the French general Morand entered Mollenau, the 15th of March. As some portion of cossacks had been detached in front, and were approaching Molen, the army of Molland halted, and afterwards marched to Bergedorf. Morand then attempted to march from Bergedorf to Hamburgh, but was prevented by the Danish troops, 3,000 of whom, with a numerous artillery, were stationed on the borders to maintain their neutrality. Colonel Hamilton, the governor of Heligoland, took every step that the inconsiderable force he had at his disposal, to assist in retaking the towns and fortresses on the banks of the Elbe. Accordingly lieutenant Banks proceeded to Cuxhaven, whence the French had departed with great expedition, after destroying their gun-boats and dismounting the guns from the strong works constructed for the defence of the harbour. Lieutenant Banks took possession of the castle of Ritzenbuttle and batteries of Cuxhaven, which were sur-

rendered, after being summoned, and the British and Hamburgh flags were immediately hoisted. The peasants assembled in considerable numbers, and took possession of the works of Bremerlee.

A corps of 1,500 French having been collected in the vicinity, threatened to retake the battery. Application was made to the commander of Cuxhaven for assistance, who immediately set off with a detachment of soldiers in waggons, but were met by a party of peasants, who informed him that the French had marched off in great haste, in consequence of the landing of some British troops. Tettenborne immediately entered Hamburgh, and the ancient government of that city was consequently restored. The British, under lieutenant Banks, marched to Bremerlee to assist the insurgent peasantry. The French collected a force of 5,000 men, and 700 of them was marched immediately to Bremerlee, dispersed the peasantry, and forced the bridge, which was bravely defended by a party of the 1st veteran battalion of veterans; the battery was then vigorouly attacked; and although the veterans and peasanty made a resolute stand, they at last capitulated, in hopes their lives would have been spared. The lives of most of the British were spared, but the peasantry fell a sacrifice. After pillaging the town they hastily returned to Bremen; and on the 4th of April they held a special commission, and condemned to death Hermann Fonse, aged 26; Repuke Bosche, 29; Hermann Henre Neucham, 21; all dwelling at Blexen, in the arrondisement of Oldenburg; and Gard Herms, aged 49, of Tettins, and executed, for having borne arms against France, and their property was confiscated.

As an excuse for this outrage upon humanity and the laws of war, the French commander justified it by stating, that the peasantry were then subjects of France, and it was necessary that a severe example should be made, to shew that insurrections against the existing government would not be suffered with impunity. This argument would have been

very good, if it had been exactly true; but the French having evacuated the town, and it being in the possession of another power, they had a right to call upon its inhabitants for their assistance to maintain that power, and they should have been considered in no other light than as subjects of that power. In fact, it was one of those acts that are often committed when coercion is made use of to rule instead of justice; but it invariably defeats itself—as persecution always makes proselytes.

General Wittgenstein having made his disposition on the left bank of the Elbe, the three flying corps under the command of Dornberg, Tchernicheff, and Tettenborne, were ordered to precede that army and pass that river between Hamburgh and Magdeburgh. While preparations were making for the passage of that river, the French army concentrated in the vicinity of the latter town, and strengthened itself by re-inforcements from Dresden and Leipsic. Its left wing consisted of three considerable corps, encamped near Luberitz and Stendal; and the whole army was under the command of marshals Davoust and Victor. Dornberg arrived first at Harelberg, and afterwards crossed the Elbe at Guijabel, opposite to Weslers. The French approached from Arnenberg and obliged the Russians to quit the town of Werlen and re-cross the Elbe, in doing of which they sustained considerable loss.

Tchernicheff arrived at Harelberg with his corps, and a council of war was held respecting the further operations. In consequence of which that general passed the Elbe, and took possession of Suhausen and Lichterfield, to secure the passage of the corps of Dornberg. The necessary disposition for that purpose had scarcely been made, before major Count Puschkin, who was posted at the latter town, was attacked by three battalions of French infantry and 200 cavalry, with two pieces of artillery. He however succeeded in keeping them employed until a regiment of cavalry of the divi-

sion of Baron Pohlin came to his support, and they ultimately drove the French back to Werlen. Dornberg and Tchernicheff received information that Morand, with 3,000 infantry, 11 pieces of artillery, and cavalry, was pressing forward by the way of Jattsbadt to Lunenberg, to punish the inhabitants of that town for having dared to take up arms. They resolved to hasten to Lunenburg to protect the inhabitants from the fate that threatened them. As the troops had lately made a forced march of 40 English miles in 24 hours, they could not be brought up until the 2nd of April, in the morning, 12 hours after the entry of the French. The Russians were informed, that in the forenoon several of the principal inhabitants were to be publicly executed; they therefore determined instantly to attack the town. Scarcely had the two corps approached it, on the right bank of the Elmenau, within the distance of two cannon shot, and drawn themselves up in order of battle, under the cover of the bushes and hedges, when Baron Pahlen, with great skill, commenced the attack on the opposite side, and met with the most complete success. The French advanced against him with two battalions of infantry, and three pieces of artillery, and attempted to cut him off from the road of Bienasbuttel, they encountered at this place, and charged each other briskly. The French were ignorant of the strength of the Russian and Prussian corps, and imagined they had only to act against a few cossacks. Dornberg, at the same moment, at the head of a Prussian battalion of infantry, rushed on the French battalion and drove it along the bridge, close under the town, on the right bank of the Elmenau. The assailants forced the gates, the walls, and even the houses in the town, defended by French infantry. The situation of the place was favorable for making a vigorous resistance, and an obstinate and bloody engagement ensued. Repeated attacks were made by the Rus-

sians and Prussians, who vied with each other; and their artillery, which was not more than 100 paces distant, did great injury to the French troops in the streets of the town; but no impression could be made on them, as the resistance was equally as well supported as the attack. After the battle had been sustained above three hours, at the entrance of the town, the Prussians possessed themselves of one of the gates; this forced the French to quit the town with such haste, that one of their battalions was separated. The battalion which was cut off, made a brilliant charge with the bayonet, upon the Russians, but they, having brought their artillery to play upon them with grape shot, convinced the French commander that resistance was useless, and he ordered his men to lay down their arms. This was the first affair of any importance that the confederates had had upon German ground, and much exultation was indulged in on its success. The trophies of the day were nine pieces of artillery, 100 officers, and 2,200 privates, prisoners; but no estimate of the loss on either side ever came to hand.—From the resistance the French made, and the advantageous position they had, the allies suffered very severely. The ability evinced by the confederate generals in this combined attack, reflected much honour on them, and gave great satisfaction to their respective sovereigns. General Morand was killed by a bullet, in the early part of the engagement, and the command devolved upon a Saxon officer. The next day general Montbrun, commandant of the advanced guard of the prince of Eckmuhl's corps, arrived at Luneburg; the allies, informed of his approach, hastily evacuated the town, and recrossed the Elbe. The prince of Eckmuhl arrived on the 4th, and obliged the allies to withdraw all their forces to the left bank of the Elbe, and occupied Stade. To counteract the effects of the addresses of the allied sovereigns, general St. Cyr issued the following proclamation.—

To the INHABITANTS *of the* NEW DEPARTMENTS.

"INHABITANTS,

"I learn with the deepest regret, that evil-disposed men, agents of the enemy, have mingled among all classes of your population, and seduced many to break that oath of allegiance which they had taken to Napoleon the Great, on the union of these departments, with the empire of France. Chimerical and absurd as the hopes are which these men have held out, they appear to have had but too much success. In frantic terms they have exhorted you to seize the opportunity of breaking your chains; and confide implicitly to the promises of avowed enemies for the realization of a happiness, which can alone be conferred and secured to you by the great Monarch who now sways the sceptre of France. Reflect by whom these promises have been made: by a nation of barbarians, whose army, beaten in every encounter, was preserved from annihilation, and its kingdom from conquest and destruction, solely by the premature rigour of a season for which we were unprovided. They have followed our steps into Germany; and have every where endeavoured to sow the seeds of disunion. Dreading a renewal of the war in Russia, they seek allies in Germany, who will assuredly become their victims, and be abandoned, on the first movements of the armies which are now organising throughout the provinces of France. Recall to mind the acts of those who now entice you to rebellion, Remember in what manner they have abandoned you on former occasions, and ask yourselves what support they are likely to afford you. The vanguard of the Russian army has only crossed the Elbe to plunder and destroy, and has retired on the appearance of our troops. The forces of that power have advanced with a temerity which will not escape chastisement. The first battle will be the signal for the garrisons of the fortresses they have left in their rear, to sally out and cut off their retreat. The first defeat will be to them annihilation; too happy if the remains of their armies are permitted to return by capitulation. Prussia has been compelled to unite with the enemy. Her conduct merits as much pity as contempt. But she will be the first to abandon the alliance she has formed.—From England do you expect succours?—Alas! what nation ever confided in her friendship that escaped ruin. Banished from the continent, the woes of the nations that inhabit it are regarded by her with exultation!—Inhabitants!—Return to your homes—resume your occupations, and be assured the armies that are now hastening from the interior will quickly drive the Russians into their own country.

Otterberg, April 2, 1813. CARA ST. CYR."

The Saxon troops, after the King had quitted his capital and retired with the French into Franconia, separated themselves from the armies of Napo-

leon, and shut themselves up in Torgau, where they concluded a treaty of neutrality with the allies. The allied troops proceeded through Saxony, almost without opposition, though the king of Saxony was in opposition to them. They crossed the Saale at different points, occupied Gotha and Weimar, and began to penetrate through the forest of Thuringia.

Napoleon, in all his former campaigns, was remarked for the accurate information he obtained of the movements and designs of the enemy opposed to him. At this period the French were kept in complete ignorance of the movements of their adversaries, while the allies contrived to obtain a correct knowledge of their plans. Thus it happened to the French in an attempt they made to recover Berlin. While the Viceroy, ignorant that Wittgenstein was near him, flattered himself that he should march on unimpeded to the Prussian capital, the latter took the most skilful measures to surround and attack him with his whole force. For this purpose he collected the corps of D'Yorck and Berg at Zeylist and Leitzkan, on the great southern road from Magdeburgh to Dinau, while he stationed those of Berstel and Bulow at Nedlitz and Yuser, to the northward of Magdeburgh. It was arranged, that the whole army should move forward simultaneously from the opposite points, and join in the aitack—this plan succeeded; the French, who had the advantage of the ground, resisted bravely, and instantly repulsed the repeated attacks made upon them. The overwhelming power of the allies at length drove them from the positions which they endeavoured to maintain, at three different villages: in the close of the evening they retreated towards Magdeburgh, having lost two regiments of cavalry, who were entirely cut to pieces, and a considerable number of infantry; very few prisoners were taken.

The Russian force was, about this time (April) divided into three armies—one under Wittgen-

stein, a second under Tchichagoff, and a third under Winzingerode, Kutusoff* commanded the whole. Wittgenstein's main force had crossed the Elbe, in order to drive the French back upon the Maine. One of the corps of this army, under general Berkendoff, had entered Luten, and other corps were on the Elbe, near Rostzenburg. Part of Tchichagoff's was in the vicinity of Thorn, while another division was employed under Platoff, in the siege of Dantzic. Winzingerode was at Lansburg, Carboin, and Dresden; while another corps had passed the Elbe at Schandau, to turn Davoust. Russian reinforcements were on the Vistula. The Prussians were thus distributed: Blucher had removed from Silesia into Saxony, and general D'Yorck was at Berlin, with the main army. Detachments had been sent to Hamburgh, and Rostock and Stettin was invested by another party. The whole Russian force with which it was expected the campaign would open, was estimated at 220,000 men; the Prussians 70,000, and an augmentation of Swedes, under Bernadotte, of 50,000. To these were to be added, the forces of Hanover, Herse, Brunswick, the Hanse Towns, &c. These magnificent expectations were not realized. The Russian force brought to the Elbe did not much exceed 100,000, instead of 220,000, as promised. The fact was, Russia had overrated her means. She found much more was necessary to put an immense army in motion than the mere decree of the Emperor for that purpose. A visible relaxation in the efforts of that power had become manifest between the months of January and May, and the expectations so eagerly indulged, that the allies would have appeared on the Elbe with a force so preponderating, as to defeat any attempt of Na-

* This officer died on the 28th of Buntzlau, in the 70th year of his age, of a nervous fever, which bid defiance to all the skill of the celebrated physician Hufeland. As it was on the eve of a great battle, his death was kept a profound secret from the troops.

poleon to maintain himself between that river and the Rhine, were wholly disappointed. Napoleon had thus leisure to assemble and organize a force, which enabled him to resume the offensive, and to recover the support of the auxiliary states.

In January the Russians had determined that the Vistula should bound the advance of their main force, and when circumstances produced a change in this determination, the arrangements for bringing forward the reinforcements and reserves were not in sufficient progress. The allies were now arrived, the French were debouching from the Thuringian mountains, with a view to join Beauharnois, who to favour this movement, proceeded from Magdeburgh to the upper part of the Saale. The plan of the allies was formed on such knowledge;—for the experience gained at Jena was not thrown away upon them. They used every effort to prevent so vast a junction of French force. In consequence of the Viceroy's retreat from Magdeburgh it became less practicable and less important to maintain his communications with Davoust; the latter, therefore, uniting with Sebastiani's and Vandamme's, was at liberty to attempt the great object of Napoleon's wishes—to cut off the troops sent to organize the insurrection in the neighbourhood of the Weser. Davoust was, in a great measure, disappointed by Dornberg, who, with that skill and activity that marked his character, removed his troops to the right bank of the Elbe, by which means he protected Hamburgh from Davoust. On the 16th of April the garrison of Thorn surrendered, consisting of 400 Poles and 3,500 Bavarians, who enlisted in the allied armies. Spandau surrendered on the 18th, and the fortress of Czentokaw surrendered on the 4th of May to general Von Sachen.

The French armies, by these movements, were placed in rather a critical situation. The main body of the active military force extended from Magdeburgh to the Saale, while the new levies

were forming on the Maine. The advance of the allies tended to interrupt the communication between these two armies, and to compel the one either to engage singly, or wholly to withdraw itself from Magdeburgh. The time was therefore come for the French corps to unite, if possible, and to commence operations. Napoleon conceived them to be already in such a condition, as that, without risk, they might be brought into the field; the army of the Maine was therefore directed to move forward. The time approached that his presence was wanted, as the army had many difficulties to encounter; but it suited that policy which he has always followed, to stand aloof till the completion of the preparations afforded a fair promise that victory should soon follow his arrival. The forces that Napoleon had assembled were numerous, and were equal to his opponents. The allies, although much improved in their co-operative operations, were guilty of some serious errors. The Russians, as has been before observed, set out upon the principle of not suffering their progress to be retarded by the fortresses which they might find in their route, but leaving each of them watched by a detachment of troops, of proceeding with their main body to the Elbe and the Rhine. They had then, without sustaining any inconvenience, left behind three successive chains, including some of the strongest fortresses in Europe. It was evident that the success of their plans depended upon the amount of the force they might bring with them. If they maintained their ground, then the fortresses, sooner or later, must submit; if on the contrary, they were unable to hold their advanced position, the fortresses would soon be relieved, and the allies would lose the ground which they had gained. As they had adopted the system of leaving the strong places behind, they should have been more prudent than to have attempted to ebsiege them. Yet Thorn and Spandau were taken by regular sieges, and Dantzic they opened

with considerable vigour. Had all the troops employed in such sieges, beyond the numbers required for mere observation, been brought forward into Saxony, the allies might not have been necessitated to re-trace their steps. The policy they pursued, seemed from the result, to have been erroneous, and they ought to have been aware they had an opponent to cope with, that rarely let an opportunity slip by him. He immediately perceived, from the length of line they occupied, it would be diffiult for them to maintain it till their levies were completed. To this circumstance Napoleon was much indebted for the *éclat* with which he commenced his operations. As the army of the Maine moved into Saxony, that near Magdeburgh, commanded by the Viceroy, marched to meet it, and the junction took place on the left bank of the Saale. Their united force might be estimated at upwards of 150,000 men.

On the 15th, at one in the morning, the Emperor Napoleon set out from St. Cloud, to place himhimself at the head of the armies of the Elbe, passed through Mayence on the 24th, and on the 25th he arrived at Erfurth, and immediately ordered all the divisions to move forward in the direction of Leipsic. The detachments of the allies fell back upon the approach of the French, and established itself behind the Elster. They endeavoured to be beforehand with him in occupying the plains of Lutzen—a spot which is celebrated by the fall of Gustavus Adolphus, and to which, perhaps, they had directed their choice on that very account, in imitation of Napoleon himself, who, in his knowledge of human nature, always endeavoured to take advantage of every thing in the shape of an omen, against his enemy. He prevented them, however, and seized the favourable ground himself; and here the battle seems to have been most arduously contested for two days, when the allies retreated towards Dresden. Of all the accounts sent to the different courts, of the above

battle, that sent to the Empress Regent of France, seems to be the most correct, which we here subjoin.—

"The battles of Weissenfels and Lutzen were but preludes to events of the highest importance. The emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia, who had arrived at Dresden with their forces the end of April, learning that the French army had debouched from the Thuringe, adopted the plan of giving battle in the plains of Lutzen, and put themselves in motion to occupy the position, but they were anticipated by the rapidity of the movements of the French army. They, however, persisted in their projects, and resolved to attack the army, to drive it from the positions it had taken. The position of the French army was on the 2d of May, in the morning, as follows :—The left of the army leaned upon the Elster; it was formed by the Viceroy, having under his orders the 5th and 11th corps. The centre was commanded by the prince of Moskwa in the village of Kara. The Emperor with the young and old guard, was at Lutzen; the duke of Ragusa was at the defile of Poserna, and formed the right with his three divisions. General Bertrand, commanding the 4th corps, marched to proceed to this defile. The enemy debouched, and passed the Elster at the bridges of Zwenkaw, Pegou, and Zutz. The Emperor hoping to anticipate him in his movement, and thinking that he could not attack till the 5th, advanced.—General Lauriston, whose corps formed the extreme of the left, was ordered to march upon Leipsic, in order to disconcert the enemy's projects, and place the French army for the day of the 3d, quite different to that upon which the enemy had calculated to find it, and in which it was in reality on the 2d, and by this means carry disorder into their columns.

"At nine in the morning, his Majesty having heard a cannonade from the side of Leipsic, proceeded there at full gallop. The enemy defended the village of Lestenau, and the bridges in advance of Leipsic. His Majesty only waited the moment when these last positions should be carried, to put in motion all his army in that direction, make a pivot on Leipsic, pass to the right bank of the Elster, and take the enemy *à revers*; but at ten o'clock the enemy's army debouched towards Kara, upon several columns, extremely deep; the horizon was obscured by them. The enemy presented immense forces.

"The Emperor immediately made his dispositions. The Viceroy received orders to march on the left of the prince of Moskwa, but three hours were necessary to do this. The prince of Moskwa placed his men under arms, and with five divisions supported the battle, which in half an hour became terrible. His Majesty himself marched at the head of the last guard, behind the centre of the army, supporting the right

of the prince of Moskwa. The duke of Ragusa, with three divisions, occupied the extreme right. General Bertrand had orders to debouche on the enemy's rear, at the moment when the line should be strongly engaged. Fortune crowned with brilliant success all these dispositions. The enemy, who appeared certain of success, marched to reach our right, and gain the road of Weissenfels. General Compans, general of battle of the first merit, at the head of the 1st division of the duke of Ragusa, stopped him short. The marine regiments supported several charges with *sang froid*, and covered the field of battle with the enemy's cavalry. But the great efforts of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, were directed against the centre. Four of prince Moskwa's five divisions were already engaged. The village of Kara was taken and retaken several times, but it remained in the enemy's power. Count De Lobau directed general Regard to retake the village. It was retaken.

"The battle embraced a line of two leagues, covered with fire, smoke, and clouds of dust. The prince of Moskwa, general Souham, and general Girard, were every where making head against every thing. General Girard was wounded with several balls, but wished to remain on the field of battle; he declared his wish to die commanding his troops, as the moment had arrived for all Frenchmen, who possessed any heart, to conquer or perish. However, we began to perceive from afar the dust and first fire of general Bertrand's corps; at the same moment the Viceroy entered in line upon the left, and the duke of Tarente attacked the enemy's reserve, and reached the village upon which the enemy rested his right. At this moment the enemy redoubled his efforts on the centre; the village of Kara was again taken, our centre gave way, some battalions fled, but these valorous youths, on seeing the Emperor, rallied, exclaiming, '*Vive l'Empereur.*' His Majesty judged that the critical moment, which decides the gaining or losing of battles, had arrived: there was no longer a moment to be lost. The Emperor ordered the duke of Treviso to march with 16 battalions of the young guard to the village of Kara, overthrow the enemy, retake the village, and overcome any thing he met with there. At the same moment, his Majesty orderded his aid-de-camp, general Drouett, an artillery officer of the greatest distinction, to form a battery of 80 pieces, and place it in advance of the old guard, which was formed in eschelons, as four redoubts to support the centre; all our cavalry ranged in battle behind. Generals Dulauley, Drouet, and Devaux, set out at gallop, with their 80 pièces of artillery in the same groupe.—The fire became dreadful—the enemy gave way on all sides. The duke of Treviso obtained the village of Kara, overthrew the enemy, and continued to advance, beating the charge. The enemy's cavalry, infantry, and artillery, all retreated

"General Bonnet received orders to move on Kara by his left, to support the success of the centre. He sustained several charges of cavalry. General Berthier advanced, and entered the line. In vain that the enemy's cavalry capered about his squares; his march was not relaxed. To rejoin him the sooner, the Emperor ordered a change of direction, by pivoting on Kara. The whole of the line made a change in front, the right wing foremost. The enemy then fled, and we pursued him for a league and a half. We soon arrived at the heights which had been occupied by the emperor Alexander the King of Prussia, and the Brandenburg family, during the battle. We made several thousand prisoners. The number could not be more considerable, considering the inferiority of our cavalry. At the commencement of the battle, the Emperor said to the troops—"It is a battle like those in Egypt—a good infantry, supported by artillery, should be sufficient for it." General Goude, chief of the prince of Moskwa's staff, was killed; a death worthy of so good a soldier. Our loss is 10,000 men, killed and wounded; that of the enemy may be estimated at 25 or 30,000 men. The royal Prussian guards are destroyed. The emperor of Russia's guards have suffered considerably, and the ten regiments of Russian cuirassiers are destroyed. His Majesty cannot sufficiently eulogize the good will, courage, and intrepidity of the army. Our young soldiers took no danger into consideration, but have in this great instance shewn all the nobleness of the French blood.

"The chief of the staff mentions the fine actions which have shed a lustre on this brilliant day, which, like a clap of thunder, has pulverized the chimerical hopes, and all the calculations for the destruction and dismemberment of the empire. The cloudy train collected by the cabinet of St. James's, during a whole winter, are in an inssant destroyed, like the Gordian knot by the sword of Alexander. The prince of Hesse Homburg was killed. The prisoners say that the young prince-royal of Prussia is wounded, and the prince of Mecklenburg Swartz was killed. The old guards, only six battalions of which arrived, by their presence kept up the affair with that *sang froid* which characterizes them. They did not fire a musket; half the army was not engaged; for the four divisions of general Lauriston's corps have done nothing but occupy Leipsic; the three divisions of the duke of Reggio were still two days march off. Count Bertrand charged with one of his divisions so lightly that it did not lose 50 men, his second and third divisions did not charge at all. The second division of the young guards were still four days march off, and the old guards were at Erfurt.

"The duke of Belluno's corps was also three days march from the field of battle; general Sebastiani's cavalry corps, with the divisions of the prince Eckmuhl, was at the Elbe. The allied army, 150 to 200,000 men strong, commanded by

the two sovereigns, with a number of the princes of Prussia, has thus been put to route, by less than half of the French army.—The field of battle presented a most affecting spectacle; the young soldiers, on seeing the Emperor, forgot their sufferings, exclaimed, '*Vive l'Empereur.*'...' It is now twenty years' said the Emperor, 'that I have commanded the French armies, but I have never witnessed such bravery and devotion!' Europe would at length be at peace, if sovereigns and ministers who direct their cabinets, could have been present on the field of battle; they would give up all hopes of causing the star of France to set, and see that those counsellors who wish to dismember the French empire, and humble the Emperor, are preparing the ruin of their sovereigns."

Te Deum was ordered to be sung for the above victory, in all the churches throughout the empire, and Napoleon addressed the following Proclamation to the army:—

"Soldiers!—I am content with you; you have fulfilled my expectations, you have supplied every thing by your goodwill and your bravery. You have, on the celebrated day of the 2d of May, defeated and put to the route the Russian and Prussian army, commanded by the Emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia. You have added a new lustre to the glory of my eagles, You have shewn every thing of which French blood is capable. The battle of Lutzen will be placed above the battles of Austerlitz, of Jena, of Friedland, and of Moskwa. In the past campaign the enemy found no refuge against our arms but in following the ferocious method of his barbarous ancestors; armies of Tartars burnt his fields, his towns, the holy Moscow itself. Now they arrive in our own countries, preceded by all that Germany, France, and Italy have had of bad subjects, and deserters, to preach revolt, anarchy, civil war, and murder. They are, in fact, the apostles of all crimes. It is a moral fire which they would light up between the Vistula and the Rhine, in order, according to the custom of despotic governments, to place deserts between us and them. Fools! they know little of the attachment to their sovereigns, the wisdom, the spirit of order, and the good sense of the Germans; they know little of the power and the bravery of the French.

"In a single day you have deranged all the parricidal conspiracies. We will drive back these Tartars to their frightful climates, who deserve not to be free. Let them remain in their icy deserts, the residence of slavery, of barbarism and corruption, where man is reduced to the level of the brute. You have deserved well of civilized Europe. Soldiers, Italy, France, and Germany render you thanks.

"*From our Imperial Camp of Lutzen, May* 3, 1813.
(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

Napoleon, alive to the affliction that the death of a brave man and a tender husband, must create in the bosom of his family, sent the following letter of condolence to the widow of marshal Bessieres, who fell in the battle of the 2nd.—

"My Cousin,

"Your husband has died in the field of honour; your loss, and that of your children, is certainly great, but mine is still greater. The Duke of Istria died the noblest of deaths, and without suffering. He has left a reputation without blemish—the fairest inheritance he could bequeath to his children. They have acquired my protection, and they will also inherit the affection which I bore to their father. Find in all these considerations motives of consolation to alleviate your sorrow, and never doubt of my sentiments of regard towards you, this letter having no other end than to assure you of it. I pray God to have you, my cousin, in his holy and worthy keeping.'

"*From my Imperial Camp, at Coldetz, May* 6, 1813.

"NAPOLEON."

The conception of this battle on the part of the allies, was bold and judicious; but the superior tactics of the French rendered their plans abortive, and nothing else, but a decisive victory on the part of the allies, could have enabled them to retain their position. Buonaparté still pursued his original plan of pushing on to Leipsic, to throw himself on their rear. To guard against this movement, it became necessary to fall back to the Mulda; and as no advantageous position presented itself, which could compensate the numerical deficiency, the combined armies had no alternative but to retire behind the Elbe. Their retreat was effected slowly and in tolerable order, without any considerable loss. Napoleon kept advancing, and on the 8th of May made his entry into Dresden. The French were once more admitted into Torgau, and the Saxon troops returned to submission. General Thielman refused them admittance without an order from his sovereign; but that order was given, for the French entered on the 9th.

By this means Napoleon secured the aid of the Saxons who had retired there in the month of

March. The King of Saxony proceeded to Dresden, and Napoleon went out to meet him ; as soon as they saw each other, they dismounted from their horses, embraced, and then entered Dresden, at the head of the guards, amid the acclamations of an immense population, and on the same day reviewed the imperial guard, and also the division of general Fresia, of 3,000c avalry, arrived from Italy. He dispatched the viceroy to Italy on a mission of importance.

The allies, finding themselves unable to defend the passage of the Elbe, came to the resolution of falling back upon some stronger position. They determined not to retire upon Berlin, or to attempt to cover that capital, but to retreat in an opposite direction, through Lusatia, and near the Bohemian frontiers. Had the armies retreated upon Berlin, and the central provinces of the Prussian monarchy, these important objects could have been preserved only by fighting at disadvantage, and on the loss of a battle the capital must have been abandoned. But by falling back in different directions, the enemy could not leave a great army behind, and was necessarily drawn into remote and less important provinces. Agreeably to this plan, an advantageous position was chosen, near Bautzen, with the intention, should that be forced, of falling back upon Silesia. To prevent the flying corps of the enemy from penetrating to Berlin, that capital was covered by Bulow, with a corps of regular militia and landwehr. The advance of the different corps of the French to the Elbe, had rendered it necessary for the divisions of Tenterborne, Dornberg, and Tchernicheff to cross that river; they were accordingly concentrated at Harburgh. On the 8th Davoust collected 5,000 men in the vicinity of Hamburgh; and with this force, with the exception of 1,200 men left in Hamburgh, was embarked at one in the morning of the 9th. Favoured by the ebb tide, and under cover of numerous batteries on the opposite shore,

a landing was effected at Wilhemsburgh, which was occupied by Hamburgh volunteers, and a few Mecklenburghers: the number of troops stationed in the island did not exceed 1,100 men; the French gained ground in the first instance, but on the arrival of a Mecklenburgh battalion, which was ordered immediately to the support of the volunteers, they were repused. A battalion of Hanoverians and a Lubec battalion, attacked the enemy on his right flank with impetuosity, he was compelled to retreat, and in falling back he set fire to all the houses and mills in his line of march. The French renewed their attempt, and succeeded by stratagem. The inhabitants of Hamburgh and its vicinity, when they heard of this second attack, were in the greatest confusion and distress. Numbers of them were seen on the roofs of houses, watching the progress of the operations, which at intervals lighted the whole horizon. A partial fire of musketry was heard, amid the cannonade, and as the day broke, and the fire approached nearer the city, it became evident that the enemy had made good his landing, seized the batteries, and driven in the Hamburgh volunteers. The apprehensions of the Hamburghers were soon confirmed by the videttes, who galloped through the streets. It was understood in the city, that Davoust, who had expressed himself in the most violent language against Hamburgh, had promised the soldiers five hours plunder. The streets were immediately filled with frightened people, running from their houses, heaping waggons with their furniture and valuables, and endeavouring to escape into the country. The cry every where was, "The French are come," and even this cry, proceeding as it did from a terrified populace, just roused from their sleep, was scarcely to be distinguished amid the trampling of cavalry. The drums of the Burgher guards beat to arms—every thing was in frightful confusion—men hastily equiping themselves with whatever arms they could find, and running to the alarm-

posts; women and children of the first families, half-dressed, heaped on waggons in the midst of beds and packages; expresses hurrying every moment, and carts passing with the wounded, just brought in from the field.

In the course of the morning, when it became evident that the enemy were determined on reaching Hamburgh, the Danish sub-governor of Altona, Blucher, a relative of the Prussian general, proceeded to Vandamme's head-quarters to remonstrate with him against the attack, and to declare, that the Danes would assist in repelling it. The Dane returned, and immediately three Danish gun-boats, filled with men, approached from Altona, and anchored to defend the passage opposite to Hamburgh. In the evening, as the intentions of the French could not be ascertained, all the troops were ordered out. The cossacks, some Danish corps, and 10 pieces of artillery were drawn up along the sands. Russian guns were posted close to Altona. In consequence of the approach of a body of Swedes, the Danes evacuated Hamburgh on the evening of the 12th, and retired to their own territory, leaving behind them their artillery to defend the town. The Swedes, amounting to about 1,200 men, arrived to their assistance on the 12th; they had been forwarded by waggons. Tettenborne, with the Hanseatic legion, went out to meet them, and they were received at the gates by the burgher guards. Immediately on their arrival they mounted guard; they were recalled by an order from their government on the 19th.

The failure of the negociations between Denmark and Great Britain, at this time, and the pretensions brought forward by the Crown Prince of Sweden to Norway, induced the Danes to resume hostilities and occasioned the immediate occupation of Hamburgh, by the French. On the morning of the 30th, Tettenborne and all the military quitted Hamburgh, and at nine o'clock 5,000 Danes,

cavalry and infantry, followed by 1,500 French, entered the city, under the command of Bruyere, who took possession in the name of Buonaparté. A proclamation was issued by the French, stating that the persons and property of those inhabitants who submitted to their government, should be protected: such was the fate, for a time, of this most unfortunate city.

General Tchernicheff, who acted in co-operation with Count Woronzoff, on the banks of the Elbe, passed that river on the 16th of May, and proceeded in the direction of Burgstall, where he learned, from various letters which had been intercepted by his scouts, that a considerable convoy of artillery, escorted by 2,000 men, was to pass on the night of the 17th At Halberstadt, he resolved to seize this convoy; but when he had nearly reached the point of attack, he found that it depended on the energy of the moment, whether he should succeed, or be himself overpowered by a superior force, which was within a few hours march of him. At Haldenstehen hearing that a much larger convoy was on the Brunswick road, three miles and a half from Halberstadt, which place it had been ordered to reach in the morning to join the first, with a view of proceeding with greater safety on its march to the grand French army. This last convoy was escorted by 5,000 infantry, 500 cavalry, and many pieces of artillery. Notwithstanding the fatigue which his troops had undergone, he resolved to continue the route; to make an immediate attack upon the enemy at Halberstadt before the arrival of the re-inforcements—and to take advantage of the fault which the French had committed in placing their guns and convoy without the town. Upon reconnoitring the enemy, he ascertained that the guns were placed in a square, the interior of which was filled with ammunition waggons and other carriages, and lined with infantry, the flanks being covered by 250 horse. The whole formed a sort of fastness almost

impenetrable to the cavalry. His first care was to cut off the French from the town; and a single gate, which the French had neglected to close, afforded him the means of obtaining his object. The rear of their troops, while marching out to join the square, was charged and pursued to the guns. Another party of the Russians, who had been sent forward in hopes of surprizing the French, made two very fine charges against the square; but they anticipating this movement, the Prussians could make no impression. The French now opened a battery of 14 guns, to which the Prussians could oppose but two; by the fire of which, however, five ammunition waggons blew up. At this moment a regiment of cossacks, detached upon the road by which re-inforcements were advancing to the assistance of the French, brought word they were within two miles; this determined the general to make a decisive effort against the square, with all the troops. The scattered cossacks were ordered to seize the same moment at which the attack should be made by the regular cavalry. The success of this brilliant attack against a formidable square, defended by 14 pieces of cannon, surpassed expectation. In an instant the batteries were carried, and the allies penetrated the square:—here the carnage was great, as the French defended themselves with great valour. More than 700 of them fell upon the field, and the rest were taken, not an individual escaped. Scarcely was this affair terminated, when the second convoy appeared and began to press upon the cossacks; the Russian general was compelled to support them, that he might gain time to send off the captured guns and prisoners. He succeeded in carrying off the guns and 12 ammunition waggons, and blew up the rest in the presence of the French. Eight thousand draught horses and 1,000 men, with several officers, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

This circumstance must have been extremely

mortifying to Napoleon, as it called down a personal invective upon the general officer who conducted it. In a dispatch to the Empress, he refers to this affair, and particularly denounces the commander of the convoy as a person not fit to be entrusted with such an expedition; and orders that he shall be arrested and tried for his conduct. "Be he a general, or a commissary of war," says Napoleon, "he ought to be punished with the rigor of military discipline." Such affairs as these may seem trifling, when compared with the magnitude of the operations which preceded and followed, but they have no inconsiderable influence on the fate of armies, and the result of campaigns, and while they do honour to the skill and valour by which they are accomplished, they waste the resources of an enemy, and ultimately reduce him to the most serious embarrassments.

Each of the belligerent powers having received considerable reinforcements, they were eager to renew their offensive operations; for the particulars of which we must refer the reader to the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Reinforcements of the Allies —Battle of Bautzen. —Retreat of the Allies, and Advance of the French. —Accession of Sweden to the Cause of the Allies.— Armistice concluded by the Intervention of Austria, and Proposals for a Congress.

SINCE the battle of Lutzen the allies had made the greatest exertions to bring up their re-inforcements under Barclay de Tolly, Langeron, Sass, and Kleist; by the 19th of May they had arrived, and their amount was about 170,000; they took up a position with the Spree in their front, their right extended to fortified eminences, which defended the debouches from that river. Bautzen formed their centre, and their left was supported by woody mountains; where the ground was open, particularly in the centre, strong works had been thrown up behind the first position; other works of equal strength had been constructed. Conceiving themselves of sufficient force to discomfit Napoleon, they ordered general D'Yorck and Barclay de Tolly, with 30,000 Russians and Prussians, to attack Napoleon's detached corps; this movement of the allies brought on a series of engagements, which was continued from the 19th to the 23rd, when the allies where obliged to make a general retreat. The dispatch of this event, sent to the Empress Regent, being the most correct and comprehensive, we give, it is as follows:

"The emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia, attributed the loss of the battle of Lutzen to the faults their generals had committed in the direction of their combined force, and particularly to the difficulties attached to an offensive movement of from 150 to 180,000 men. They resolved upon taking the position of Bautzen and Hochkerch, already celebrated in the history of the seven years' war; to unite there all the re-inforcements which they expected from the Vistula, and other points in their rear; to add to that position every thing for which art could furnish the means; and there run the chances of a fresh battle, of which all the probabilities appeared to them to be in their favour.

" The duke of Tarentum, commanding the 11th corps, left Bischosswerder on the 15th, in the evening of which day he found all the enemy. He took a position: from this moment the French army marched upon the camp at Bautzen.

" The emperor left Dresden on the 18th, he slept at Harla, and on the 19th, at ten in the morning, arrived before Bautzen. He employed all the day in reconnoitering the enemy's positions.

" We learned that the Russian corps of Barclay de Tolly, Langeron, and Sass, and Kleist's Prussian corps had joined the combined army, and that its force might be estimated from 150 to 160,000 men.

" On the 19th, in the evening, the enemy's position was as follows: his left was supported by mountains covered with wood, and perpendicular to the course of the Spree, nearly a league from Bautzen. Bautzen contained his centre. This town had been entrenched and covered by redoubts; the right of the enemy leaned upon fortified rising points, which defended the debouches from the Spree, from the side of the village of Nimschit; all his front was covered by the Spree; this very strong position was but a first position.

We distinctly perceived at 3000 toises distance in the rear, the ground newly dug up, and works which marked their second position. The left was still supported by the same mountains at 2,000 toises in the rear of those of the first position, and considerably in advance of the village of Hochkerch. The centre leaned upon three intrenched villages, where so many works had been erected that they might have been considered as strong places. A marshy and difficult ground covered three-quarters of the centre. Lastly, their right leaned in rear of the first position upon villages and rising ground, likewise intrenched.

" The enemy's front, either in the first or second position, extended about a league and one half. After this reconnoissance, it was easy to conceive how, notwithstanding a lost battle like that of Lutzen, and eight days retreating, the enemy could still have hopes in the chances of fortune. According to the expression of a Russian officer, who was asked what they intended to do, 'We neither wish to advance, nor retire.' 'You are masters of the first point,' replied a French officer, 'the event, in a few days, will prove whether you are masters of the other.' The head-quarters of the two sovereigns were in the village of Natscher.

" On the 19th, the position of the French army was as follows:

" Upon the right was the duke of Reggio, leaning upon the mountains to the left of the Spree, and separated from the left of the enemy by that valley. The duke of Tarentum was be-

fore Bautzen, on horseback, upon the Dresden road. The duke of Ragusa was upon the left of Bautzen, opposite the village of Niemenschutz. General Bertrand was upon the left of the duke of Ragusa, leaning upon a windmill and a wood, and appeared to intend debouching from Jaselitz upon the enemy's right. The prince of Moskwa, general Lauriston, and general Reynier, were at Hoyerswerda, out of the line, and in the rear of our left.

"The enemy having learnt that a considerable corps was to arrive by the road of Hoyerswerda, was doubtful that it was the Emperor's intention to turn their position by the right, to alter the field of battle, and to cause all his intrenchments to fall, which had been erected with so much pains, and the objects of such great trouble. Not being yet informed of general Lauriston's arrival, he did not suppose that this column could consist of more than 16 or 20,000 men. On the 19th, he therefore detached against them, at four o'clock in the morning, general Yorck with 12,000 Prussians, and general Barclay de Tolly with 18,000 Prussians. The Russians posted themselves at the village of Weisig.

"Count Bertrand had, in the meanwhile, sent general Pery with the Italian division to Koenigswerda, to keep our communication with the detached corps. Being arrived there at noon, general Perin made bad dispositions. He did not cause the neighbouring forest to be properly reconnoitred; he placed his posts badly, and at four o'clock he was assailed by a *hourra*, which threw some battalions into disorder.

"He lost 600 men, among whom was general Balathier, of the Italian brigade, wounded; 2 cannon and 3 caissons; but the division having taken to their arms, kept themselves to the wood, and faced against the enemy.

"The count de Valmy having arrived with the cavalry, put himself at the head of the Italian division, and re-took the village of Koenigswerda. At this very moment, the corps under count Lauriston, which marched at the head of the prince of Moskwa's, to turn the enemy's position, and had departed from Hoyerswerda, arrived on Weissig. The battle commenced, and the corps of general Yorck would have been destroyed, had it not been for the circumstance of the troops having to pass a defile, which caused that they could come up only in succession. After a battle of three hours, the village of Weissig was carried, and De Yorck's corps, being overthrown, was driven to the other bank of the Spree. The battle of Weissig was in itself an important event.

"On the 19th, count Lauriston therefore remained in the possession of Weissig; the prince of Moskwa at Mankersdor, and count Reynier at the distance of a league in the rear.—The right of the enemy's position was evidently in disorder.

"On the 20th, at eight o'clock in the morning, the Empe-

ror went to the heights in the rear of Bautzen. He gave orders to the duke of Reggio to pass the Spree, and attack the mountains which supported the enemy's left; to the duke of Tarentum, to throw a bridge on chevalets over the Spree, between Bautzen and the mountains; to the duke of Ragusa, to throw another bridge on chevalets over the Spree, in the turn which that river takes to the left, at half a league from Bautzen; to the duke of Dalmatia, (to whom his Majesty had given the command in chief of the centre) to pass the Spree, and disturb the enemy's right; and finally, to the prince of Moskwa, under whose orders were the third corps, general Lauriston and general Reynier to push forward on Klix, to pass the Spree, to turn the enemy's right, and to carry his head-quarters from Wurtchen to Weissenburg.

"At noon the cannonade commenced. The duke of Tarentum had no occasion to throw his bridge of cheval to cross the river, as he found a stone bridge before him, over which he forced his passage. The duke of Ragusa threw his bridge across, and the whole of his corps passed over to the other bank of the Spree. After six hours of a brisk cannonade, and several charges made by the enemy without success, general Compans caused Bautzen to be occupied; general Bonnet occupied the village of Niedkayn, and by a running charge took a plain which rendered himself master of the whole centre of the enemy's position; the duke of Reggio got possession of the heights, and at seven o'clock in the evening, the enemy was driven back on his second position. General Bertrand passed one of the arms of the Spree, but the enemy kept the heights which supported his right; and by this means maintained himself between the prince of Moskwa's corps and our army.

"At eight o'clock in the evening, the Emperor entered Bautzen, and was received by the inhabitants and the constituted authorities, with sentiments due from allies, who were happy in finding themselves delivered from Stein, from Kotzebue, and the cossacks. This day, which, were it single, might be called the battle of Bautzen, was merely the prelude to the battle of Wurtchen.

"However, the enemy began to comprehend the possibility of being forced in his position. His hopes were no longer the same; and he must, from this moment, have had the presage of his defeat. Already were all his dispositions entirely changed. The fate of the battle was no longer to be decided behind his entrenchments. His immense works and 300 redoubts, became useless. The right of his position, which was opposed to the 4th corps, became his centre; and he was obliged to offer his right which formed a good part of his army, to oppose the prince of Moskwa, in a place which he had not studied, and which he believed beyond his position.

"On the 21st, at five in the morning, the Emperor marched towards the heights, three-quarters of a league in advance of Bautzen.

"The duke of Reggio sustained a lively fire of musketry towards the heights which defended the enemy's left. The Russians, who felt the importance of this position, had placed a strong part of their army, in order that their left should not be turned. The Emperor ordered the dukes of Reggio and Tarentum to keep up this combat, in order to prevent the enemy's left from disengaging itself, and to hide from him the real attack, the result of which could not be felt before noon, or one o'clock.

"At 11 o'clock the duke of Treviso advanced 1,000 toises from his position, and engaged in a dreadful cannonade before all the enemy's redoubts and entrenchments. The guards, and the reserve of the army, concealed by a rising ground, had easy debouches to advance, by the left or right, according as the vicissitudes of the day might require. The enemy was thus kept in uncertainty respecting the real point of attack. During this time, the prince of Moskwa overthrew the enemy at the village of Klix, pased the Sprey, and advanced, fighting what he had before him, to the village of Preiletz. At ten o'clock he carried the village; but the enemy's reserves having advanced to cover the head-quarters, the prince of Moskwa was driven back, and lost the village of Preiletz. The duke of Dalmatia began to debouch an hour after noon. The enemy, who comprehended all the danger with which he was threatened by the direction the battle had taken, knew that the only means of advantageously supporting the battle against the prince of Moskwa, was to prevent us from debouching. He endeavoured to oppose the duke of Dalmatia's attacks. The moment for deciding the battle had then arrived. The Emperor, by a movement to the left, in twenty minutes marched with the guards, general Latour Maubourg's four divisions, and a great quantity of artillery, upon the right flank of the enemy's position, which had become the centre of the Russian army.

"Morand's and the Wurtemberg division carried the rising ground, which the enemy had made his *point d'appui*.

"General Devaux established a battery, the fire of which he directed upon the masses which attempted to take the position. Generals Dulauloy and Drouett, with 60 pieces of reserve artillery, advanced. Lastly, the duke of Treviso, with the divisions of Dumontier and Barrois, with a detachment of the young guard, took the road to the Inn of Klein Baschwitz, crossing the road from Wurtchen to Bautzen.

The enemy was obliged to uncover his right, to prepare for this new attack. The prince of Moskwa took advantage of it by advancing in front. He took the village of Preisig, and

having come up with the enemy's army, marched on to Wurtchen. It was at three o'clock in the afternoon, and whilst the army was in the greatest incertitude of success, that a heavy firing was heard along a line of three leagues, and announced to the Emperor that the battle was won.

"The enemy finding that his right was turned, began to retreat, his retreat soon became a flight. At seven o'clock in the evening, the prince of Moskwa, and General Lauriston arrived at Wurtchen. The duke of Reggio then received orders to make an inverse movement to that which the guard had made, occupied all the entrenched villages, and all the redoubts, which the enemy were obliged to evacuate, advanced in direction of Hochkerch, and thus took the enemy's left in flank, which then fell into an unavoidable rout. The duke of Tarentum, on his side, briskly pushed this left wing, and did it considerable mischief.

"The Emperor slept on the road in the midst of his guards, at the Inn of Little Bachswitz. Thus the enemy being forced from all his positions, left the field of battle in our power, covered with his dead and wounded, and several thousands of prisoners.

"On the 22nd, at four o'clock in the morning, the French army put itself in motion. The enemy had fled the whole night by all the roads, and in every direction. We had not found his first posts until past Weissenberg; nor did he offer to make any resistance until he had gained the heights in the rear of Reickenbach. The enemy had not yet seen our cavalry.

"General Lefebvre Desnouettes, at the head of 1,500 horses of Polish lancers of the guards, charged and overthrew the enemy's cavalry in the plain of Rettenbach. The enemy believing that these were alone, caused a division of their cavalry to advance, and several divisions were successively engaged. General Latour Maubourg, with his 14,000 horse, and the French and Saxon cuirassiers, arrived to their assistance, and several charges of cavalry took place. The enemy quite astonished to find 15 or 16,000 cavalry before him, whilst he believed us to be unsupplied with any, retired in disorder. The corps of red lancers of the guards is for a great part composed of the volunteers of Paris, and its neighbourhood. General Lefebvre Desnouettes, and general Colbert, their colonel, bestowed the greatest eulogiums on them. In this affair of cavalry, general Bruyere, of the light cavalry, and an officer of the highest distinction, had his leg carried off by a cannon-ball.

"General Reynier with the Saxon corps gained the heights between Rottenbach, and pursued the enemy as far as the village of Hotterndorf.—Night overtook us, at a league from

Guerilitz. Although the day had been extremely long, we finding ourselves now at the distance of eight leagues from the field of battle, and that the troops had undergone so much fatigue, the French army was to have slept at Goerlitz; but the enemy having placed a corps of their rear-guard on the heights in front, and as it would have required half an hour more day-light to turn his left, the Emperor ordered the army to take a position.

"In the battles of the 20th and 21st, the Wurtemburg general Franquemont, and general Lorenzez, were wounded. Our loss on these days may be estimated at 11 or 12,000 men in killed and wounded. At seven o'clock in the evening of the day of the 22d. the great marshal, duke of Frioul, being on a small eminence along with the duke of Treviso and general Kirgener, all three with their feet on the ground, and at a sufficient distance from the fire, one of the last balls fired by the enemy struck down close to the duke of Treviso, tore the lower part of the great marshal, and killed general Kirgener on the spot. The duke of Frioul immediately felt that he was mortally wounded, and expired twelve hours after. As soon as the posts were placed, and that the army had taken its bivouasque, the Emperor went to see the duke of Frioul. He found him perfectly master of himself, and showing the greatest *sang-froid*. The duke offered his hand to the Emperor, who pressed it to his lips. 'My whole life,' said he to him, 'has been consecrated to your service, nor do I regret its loss, but for the use it still might have been of to you!'—'Duroc!' replied the Emperor, 'there is a life to come: it is there you are going to wait for me, and where we shall one day meet again!'—'Yes, Sire, but that will not be yet these thirty years, when you will have triumphed over your enemies, and realized all the hopes of our country. I have lived an honest man; I have nothing to reproach myself with. I leave a daughter behind me; your Majesty will fill the place of a father to her.' The Emperor grasping the right hand of the great marshal, remained a quarter of an hour with his head reclined on his right hand, in deep silence. The great marshal was the first who broke this silence: 'Ah, Sire,' cried he, 'go away,' this sight gives you pain!' The Emperor, supporting himself on the duke of Dalmatia, and the great master of the horse, quitted the duke of Frioul, without being able to say more than these words, 'Farewell, then, my friend,' His Majesty returned to his tent, nor would he receive any person the whole of that night.

"On the 23d, at nine o'clock in the morning, general Reynier entered Goerlitz. Bridges were thrown over the Neisse, and the army crossed that river.

"On the 23d, in the evening, the duke of Belluno was near Botzenburg; count Lauriston had his head-quarters at Hoch-

kerch; count Reynier before Trotskendorf, on the road to Lauban; and count Bertrand in the rear of the same village; the duke of Tarentum at Schoenberg, and the Emperor at Goerlitz.

"A flag of truce, sent by the enemy, brought several letters, from which it is believed, that he wishes to negociate for an armistice.

"The enemy's army has retired by the road of Branslau and Lauban, in Silesia. All Saxony is delivered from her enemies; and by to-morrow, the 24th, the French army will be in Silesia.

"The enemy has burnt a great quantity of his baggage, blown up a number of parks, and distributed through the villages great quantities of wounded. Those whom he was able to take away in carriages had not their wounds dressed; the inhabitants make their numbers upwards of 18,000, and more than 10,000 remain in our power. The town of Goerlitz, which contains 8 or 10,000 inhabitants, has received the French as their liberators. The city of Dresden, and the Saxon ministry, have shown the greatest activity in providing for the army, which has never had a greater abundance of every thing.

"Although great quantities of ammunition have been consumed, yet the workmen of Torgua and Dresden, and the convoys which arrive through the attention of general Sorbier, keep our artillery well provided.

"We have received intelligence from Glogau, Custrin, and Stettin. All those places are in good condition.

"The recital of the battle of Wurtchen can only be considered as a sketch. The general etat-major will collect the reports, which will make known such officers, soldiers, and corps, as have distinguished themselves.

"In the small combat of the 22d, at Reitenbach, we ascertained that our young cavalry is superior to that of the enemy, in equal numbers.

"We could not take any colours, as the enemy never brings them on the field of battle. We have only taken 19 cannon, the enemy having blown up his parks, and caissons; and besides, the Emperor keeps his cavalry in reserve, until it is of sufficient numbers: he wishes to spare it".

Napoleon followed up slowly his hard won victories. The allies retired upon Schweidnitz, southward, through Silesia, and along the frontier of Bohemia; they then adhered to their former principle of drawing their opponents, as far as possible, from Boston and the central Prussian provinces. Their rear-guard of cavalry preserved a good front, and in many skirmishes roughly

handled the French. In their retreat they were joined by several corps, which arrived from the Russian frontiers, who rendered them as formidable as they were before the battle of Bautzen. Other divisions of great strength was announced on their march. The French army, meanwhile, not only received no re-inforcements, but was obliged to leave behind it the corps of Oudinot, for the purpose of opposing that under Bulow, which was acting in front of Berlin. Some hints were thrown out, as if, after the battle of Bautzen, the French army would advance and take possession of that capital. Napoleon, however, according to his usual system, carried the great body of the army with him into Silesia. Oudinot thus found himself reduced to an attitude strictly defensive; and with some difficulty maintained the communication between the grand army and Dresden. Napoleon however obtained some very considerable advantages—he raised the blockade of Glogau, a fortress of great strength, and the most important keys of the Oder—he took possession also of Breslaw, the capital of Silesia;—his divisions advanced in front of the allied camp at Schweidnitz, and an attempt would probably have been made, to force it, had not an event occurred, which, for a time, interrupted his operations.

The Swedish government had long temporised with Napoleon, and endeavoured to avoid the evils towards which he was pressing that state, by demanding of it an accession to the continental system*, a declaration of war against England; but but when he perceived that no steps were taken by the Swedes to aid his projects, he shewed how much he was dissatisfied, and to what extremities was disposed to carry his vengeance in his conference with the Swedish minister at Paris. Soon after this conference, Napoleon occupied Swedish Pomerania with his troops. This left no doubt upon the court of Stockholm, as to the line of po-

* See p. 142 of this volume.

licy they ought to pursue. A treaty of alliance, defensive, was entered into between Russia and Sweden, for the protection of their respective frontiers from the aggression of Napoleon. Great Britain was now invited to accede to the engagements, and agreed not to oppose the annexation of Norway to Sweden, in exchange for Swedish Pomerania, provided Sweden would act on the defensive, and bring 30,000 men into the field. If Denmark refused to agree to this arrangement of affairs, England promised to bring a naval force into the Baltic, to co-operate with Sweden, in securing to her the possession of Norway, and also agreed to grant Sweden a subsidy of 1,000,000 for the service of the campaign of 1813.

In deciding upon the justice and policy of these proceedings, it is necessary to take a general view of the state of Europe at the period when they occurred.—While the storm of French invasion was hanging over the Russian dominions, two things were required to give that empire a chance of ultimate success;—peace with Turkey, and the co-operation of Sweden. The first object was effected, in a great measure, by the mediation of England; the other was scarcely less important. It was the interest of France to use all the means in her power to secure the alliance and co-operation of Sweden in the attack upon Russia; and Buonaparté, in his usual manner, tried the effect of intimidation, by seizing the Swedish Pomeranian dominions.—When he found that threats and insults were unvailing, he changed his policy, and made the most seducing offers to the Swedish government. The restoration of Finland, and other advantages, were proposed through the medium of neutral powers, and every attempt was made to gain the accession of Sweden to the French system; but even these insiduous offers failed of effect. Much difference of opinion existed among Russian statesmen as to the real value of the conquests which that power had been making for the last twenty or thirty

years; but none of them ever doubted that the acquisition of Finland was highly important, with a view even to the security of the Russian dominions. It was reasonable that Sweden should have some compensation for so material a loss, when about to embark in what was considered as almost a desperate cause. She had engaged to unite with Russia against the common enemy; but in these circumstances it was necessary to her safety that Norway should be added to her dominions; and it was agreed therefore, between Russia and Sweden, that these powers should, in the first instance, make common cause for that purpose, and afterwards bring their united force to bear against France and her allies.

It may be asked—were Russia and Sweden justified in entering into these engagements,—was Great Britain justifiable in acceding to such a treaty —and was it wise or politic to accede to it? It seems clear that Russia and Sweden were justified in entering into these engagements. It is an important fact, which has often been kept out of view, that Denmark formed part of the confederacy against Russia. Denmark engaged to assist the object of Buonaparté by occupying the north of Germany with her troops; this was as complete co-operation with France as if the Danish troops had marched to Smolensko and Moscow. The countries which Denmark agreed to occupy were in alliance with Russia; the duchy of Oldenberg, for instance, had been in some degree the origin of the last dispute between Russia and France. Denmark thought it for her interest to adhere to France; she was following the steps and co-operating in the objects of that power.—The accession of Great Britain to the engagements between Russia and Sweden may easily be defended, for England was at war with Denmark; Danish seamen manned the French fleets; Danish ports were shut to the English; Danish privateers covered the seas in that quarter, annoying the trade of England. Was not Great

Britain as much justified in conquering Norway as in conquering any other place belonging to her enemies? The project of annexing Norway to Sweden was not new. Sweden had lost Finland, by her refusal to accede to the treaty of Tilsit,—a treaty by which Sweden was involved in a war both with Russia and France. An expedition sailed from this country, under the late Sir John Moore, to co-operate with Sweden in the conquest of Norway, as a compensation for the loss of Finland.—As Sweden had co-operated so powerfully with England, and evinced a determination to support her independence, she had a strong claim upon the liberality of this country to promote her objects in any legitimate contest. Great Britain was fully *justified*, therefore, in making common cause with Russia and Sweden.

The *policy* of acceding to the engagements between these two powers was not less manifest. No object, except the independence of the Spanish peninsula, seemed so important to Great Britain, as that Norway should belong to a power able and willing to preserve its independence against France. Norway is a maratime country, full of harbours, from which England procures a considerable portion of her naval stores. Not that for this reason, solely, the crown of Denmark ought to have been deprived of this appendage of the monarchy; but if it could with justice be placed in the hands of a power more willing to co-operate in the great cause of Europe it was highly desirable, with a view to the interests of this country, that such a change should be accomplished.—The British government was completely justified in acceding to the treaty for annexing Norway to Sweden; it was for the interest of England that Norway and Sweden should be united; for so long as Denmark declined to sacrifice her German dominions for her insular independence, her dependence on France was inevitable. But it had been the policy of Denmark (whether wise or not signifies little) to cling to her

possessions; and while Norway was annexed to German Denmark, it was therefore under the controul of France. In the existing state of Europe it was most important, with a view to the interests of Great Britain, that Norway should belong to Sweden. Even in the course of the autumn of 1812, a Swedish force in the north kept a French Marshal in check; and although an engagement had been entered into by Russia to employ a considerable force solely for Swedish objects; yet at the very moment when Buonaparté was marching to Smolensko, 18,000 Russians, who were in Finland, were released by the friendship of Sweden, and left at liberty to act against the French. The destruction of the French Army in the Beresina may be ascribed to the junction of this Russian corps with Wittgenstein; and to the co-operation and good-will of the Swedes, resisting, as they had, all the offers of France, and making common cause with Russia, might the successes of the Russians in that quarter be ascribed. The Russians felt this, and were anxious that Great Brisain should accede to the agreement subsisting between them and Sweden.—She did accede, and the most beneficial results were secured.

While Sweden was resisting France at all points, Denmark, so far from exhibiting in the hour of universal danger any manifestations of good-will to the common cause, was actively concurring with Napoleon against Russia. When Buonaparté was marching in full force towards the Russian capital, Denmark was appealed to by the Russian government, and answered, thatshe was determined to stand or fall with France. Was it immoral then, to refuse or forego the aid of an important ally—for what? out of tenderness to a power which had exerted all its means of injury against us!—There can neither be sense nor policy in any line of conduct, except that which serves to conciliate our friends to punish our enemies. After the evacuation of Moscow by the French, the Danish ambassador at

St Petersburgh had indeed shewn some disposition towards a reconciliation. But what was the consequence. When this fact was known at Stockholm, endeavours were made on the part of Sweden to follow up the supposed pacific disposition of Denmark; but the professions of the Danish envoy were instantly disavowed by the government at Copenhagen. Perhaps the ambassador acted without instruction; or if he was instructed to act in this manner at the time of Buonaparté's greatest danger, yet the escape of Napoleon had occasioned a complete alteration in the Danish councils. It was only after the entire destruction of the French army that formal overtures were made by Denmark;—in the doubtful state of Europe, she might wish to keep well with both parties, and to unite at last with those who might prove the stronger. Was the friendship of a power which had done its utmost to support the common cause to be relinquished for the sake of accommodating a government whose views were so equivocal?

One question remains—Did the Swedish government shew a disposition to perform the treaty? Never was there an instance of more complete and zealous exertion than that of Sweden.—Her troops were dispatched to the very point where they could act with the greatest effect. As to the compensation given for her exertions, it may be remarked that the measure of ceding a West India island to that power was not new; and never was there a case in which it was less detrimental to England to make such a cession, than on the present occasion. In return for this boon, a depot for British commerce was opened in Sweden; and it may be asked whether such an effectual departure from the continental system was not an advantage to be purchased, even at a considerable price?--It was the duty of this country above all others safe and prosperous, to set the example of generosity; and it would have been madness in her to treat in the same manner the friend and the enemies of France. Those who take the field

must be paid by others in whose cause they fight. This is is but common justice; and the principle fully warranted the pecuniary aid of £100,000 a month, which, by the treaty, Great Britain engaged to bestow upon Sweden—The wise policy indeed, which dictated this alliance, was signally manifested in the course of the campaign.

Early in the month of May, the Crown Prince of Sweden visited Stockholm, and reviewed the troops assembled for embarkation. When they were embarked, he proceeded to Carlscrona, and on the 14th of May departed for Stralsund:—Before leaving Carlscrona, he addressed the Swedish army in the interior, and announced the objects of the war.—"The king," said he, "in directing me to take the command of his army in Pomerania, has charged me to leave in Sweden two corps of the army, sufficiently numerous to ensure the safety of the frontiers of the kingdom and to act offensively wherever the honour and interests of the country require. In seperating from you for some time, it is not to disturb the repose of nations, but to co-operate in the great work of a general peace, for which sovereigns and nations have sighed for so many years. A new career of glory, and sources of prosperity, are pending to our country. Treaties founded upon sound policy, and which have the tranquility of the north for their object, guarantee the union of the people of Scandinavia.—Let us make ourselves worthy of the splendid destiny which is promised us; and let not the people who stretch out their arms to us have cause to repent their confidence. —Our ancestors distinguished themselves by their bold, daring, and steady courage. Let us unite to these warlike virtues the enthusiasm of military honour and God will protect our arms."

On the 18th of May, Bernadotte arrived at Stralsund to take the command of the army. A Swedish force of 3000 men had been stationed near Hamburgh for the protection of that city.—On the 21st of May, it was directed by the Crown

Prince to fall back; and the commanding officer was ordered to repair to Stralsund, to be brought before a court-martial, for having made an application of his troops which had never entered into the plans of the Swedish government. The Swedish army, in consequence of this order, retired, although Count Walmoden made the most pressing representation to induce them to remain.—To explain this resolution, which excited suspicions at the time, it is necessary to state some particulars.

To induce Sweden to take an active part in the operations on the continent, Russia and Prussia had engaged to place at her disposal an army of 50,000 men. The corps which was organizing in the north of Germany, under the protection, and at the expence of England, was together with these Russian and Prussian troops, to be placed under the command of the Crown Prince. Bernadotte was thus to have an army of 90,000 men, including his Swedish troops. The Swedes to be brought into co-operation with the allies in Germany were not to exceed 30,000; and of these a proportion necessarily remained at Stralsund where an entrenched camp was preparing for 15,000 men.—But a part of the Swedish force had not at this time arrived, and Bernadotte had not received the expected reinforcements of Russians and Prussians. He could have detached only a small force, therefore, to the Elbe, which being exposed to the joint attacks of the French and Danes, might have been entirely cut off. At this period the main armies of the allies were retiring from the Saale and the Elbe; and as the whole course of the Lower Elbe, from Magdeburgh to Hamburgh, was but partially guarded by small detatchments, the river might have been easily crossed at any point by a superior French force.—By attempting to defend Hamburg under these circumstances, the Crown Prince must have risked the destruction of his army in detail, as all support from his allies was remote and uncertain.

The importance of preserving Hamburg on prin-

ciples of humanity, as well as of general policy, must have been obvious to Bernadotte; and he must have been dissuaded from attempting it on military considerations alone. Every military man would object to a plan by which a corps of troops should be thrown into a large town unfortified and placed in a *cul de sac*, of which the chief protection, a river, had been destroyed by the appearance of a new enemy who commanded the right bank. It would appear also, that at this period the Crown Prince was left in the dark as to the views of the Russians and Prussians. He had already been disappointed of their promised support; while their inadequate exertions, their retrogade movements, and the experience of their conduct in former contests gave him reason to apprehend that an armistice, and afterwards a peace, might be concluded without his concurrence or approbation. In such circumstances, he could not have been justified in committing, beyond the reach of support, or the power of retreat, the disposable military force of Sweden, or in risking the destruction of the whole or a part of his army, when its only security might have depended on its being kept together in a formidable body at Stralsund.

The Emperor of Austria had, during the Russian campaign, taken but a reluctant part on the side of France, and after witnessing the dissasters which befel that power, he gradually withdrew his troops into a neutral position. The Austrian cabinet however, took a deep interest in the passing events; nor was it a timid or inactive neutrality which this court was prepared to maintain, armaments of unexampled magnitude were completed in every part of the Austrian territories; troops were poured into Bohemia, and placed in an attitude of observation. It appeared probable that the scale into which this power might throw herself would at once preponderate; and to court her favor became the grand object of the belligerents.—Buonaparté before leaving Dresden, published a bulletin announcing that he

had acceded to a proposition made by Austria for assembling a congress at Prague. Austria afterwards declared that no such proposition had been made to her; and an assertion thus unauthorised appeared singular and offensive. This power, however was not unwilling to interpose; and as she viewed with uneasiness the progress of the French arms, and saw her frontiers in danger of being again encircled by them, she determined to take an active part in putting a stop to further hostilities. Under her mediation an armistice was accordingly concluded; hostilities between the contending armies ceased on the 1st of June, and the armistice was signed and ratified on the 4th. By the terms of this convention, the line of demarcation for both armies took its departure from the frontiers of Bohemia; that of the allies passing through Landshut to the Bober,—following that river to Ruderstadt, and towards Bolkenheim and Striegau,—pursuing, the course of the Strieganerwefar to the Canth, and extending to the Oder through Olfaschin and Althof. The line of the French army, on quitting the Bohemian frontier, stretched to Alt Ramhitz and the Bober, as far as the town of Lahn; thence it traversed the territory between the Bober and the Katzbach to the Oder. Breslau was between the two armies, and was declared neutral; it was not to be occupied by any troops, not even by the landsturm.—Such was the line of demarcation between the two main armies. The line which separated the detached corps was continued from the mouth of the Katzbach along the Oder to the frontiers of Saxony and Prussia, where it joined the Elbe. The French were of course to occupy Hamburgh, one of the articles stating, "that they were in possession of the isles in the Elbe, and *every thing which they occupied* in the 32d military division on the 8th of June at midnight." The besieged and blockaded fortresses were to be re-victualled every five days. By the 10th article it was stipulated,

that on the 12th of June, all the corps of the combined army beyond the Elbe, or in Saxony, were to return into Prussia. Buonaparté was thus left undisputed master of the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser. The duration of the armistice was fixed to the 20th of July inclusive. It was agreed, that six days notice should be given of the resumption of hostilities.

Preparations on an extensive scale were, in the mean time, carried on throughout all the provinces of the Prussian monarchy, as well as the districts of northern Germany, which had been liberated from French influence. The events of the recent campaign afforded on this subject a most salutary and important lesson. Every private object gave place for the moment to the grand views of national safety. Levies for the augmentation of the regular army were made to a very great extent. A numerous and well disciplined militia, called landwehr, was also raised; to which was added a levy *en-masse*, under the appellation of *landsturm*.

Austria was scarcely less indefatigable in completing her establishments—in raising new levies—and in pouring numerous corps into Bohemia. From the moment that the Russian arms acquired the ascendancy, an extraordinary impulse was given to the councils of this power. All the men of influence began to exclaim, that now was the time to retrieve at once so many losses, which had reduced Austria to a state of degradation. Russia offered, now that she had delivered herself, to assist in the liberation of other nations; and from all the neighbouring states ample co-operation might be with certainty expected.—Austria, however, after such a succession of disasters, and so many disappointments, shrunk from taking at once any decided step. She even employed a considerable share of dissimulation, to conceal from the French the change which had taken place in her councils.

Buonaparté lavished offers, entreaties, protest-

ations; half of the Prussian monarchy was to be the reward of the co-operation of Austria, which would restore to him all his former ascendancy. Austria turned a deaf ear to such proposals; she recalled the auxiliary corps which had acted with the French army, and remained a mere spectator of the campaign in Saxony and Silesia. She had however, already gone too far to render it safe for her that France should resume its former power, and again surround her territories with its armies. Such views of policy rendered her active in negociating an armistice, and in forwarding the assemblage of a congress at Prague. They determined her also to support no terms of peace which should not have for their basis the limitation of the French influence in Germany. The precise character of the overtures first made by her has not been ascertained; but it is certain, that from the moment they reached the ear of Buonaparté, he accounted her his enemy, and determined again to try the fate of arms.

Efforts were made accordingly by the French Emperor to draw reinforcements from every quarter. Some corps of the army of Spain, which had hitherto been left untouched, began their march for the Elbe. Eugene Beauharnois repaired to Italy, and assembled an army upon the Adige, with the view of overawing Austria on that side. Buonaparté, at the same time, interposed every species of delay in the negociation, by complaints relative to the character of the persons sent to the congress, and by disputes upon matters of form. His object, which he scarcely hesitated to avow, was, that hostilities should be renewed during the continuance of the negociations. Thus he probably hoped to deceive Austria, and prevent her from immediately taking an active part in the war; and if he should succeed in driving the armies of Russia and Prussia beyond the Vistula, and cutting them off from all communication with the Bohemian frontier, he might then give the law to

all his enemies. Austria, however, had formed her resolution, and had fully determined, if the war should be renewed, to take the most decided part in it. At the expiration of the armistice, she proposed an extension of it for three weeks, to which Buonaparté reluctantly acceded. His views evidently were of such a character as to remove all prospects of a pacific termination to the discussions; and Austria had, perhaps, no other object in this delay than to mature her preparations, and arrange the plan of the approaching campaign. Buonaparté still continued to raise difficulties; and as there appeared to be no prospect of his acceding to reasonable terms, the armistice was denounced, and Austria issued her declaration of war.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Renewal of Hostilities.—Exertions of Napoleon.—Declaration of War by the Emperor of Austria, and his Manifesto.—Observations.

NAPOLEON aware of the necessity of great exertions to meet his opponents in the field, now increased by Austria joining the allies, displayed that activity of mind which has so constantly astonished all observers, in increasing his force: by the activity of his councils—the national guard, and the guards of honour, of the French empire, were successfully excited to offer themselves to join the French army. He also accomplished (by the wisdom of his arrangements) the following objects, during the armistice.—

1. To form marshal Davoust's army, and to fortify Hamburgh.—2. To complete the line of the Elbe, and the defences of Dresden, and to reinforce his grand army.—3. Completely to form an army under marshal Augerau, consisting of veteran troops from Spain.—4. Entirely to form the army of the viceroy Eugene Beauharnois, in Italy.—5. To form a Bavarian army in Bavaria.—6. To re-organize the Saxon army, under general Regnier.—7. To re-organize and march a Polish corps, under prince Poniatowsky, through Bohemia.—8. To re-victual, to a certain extent, the besieged fortresses of Stettin, Custrin, and Dantzig.—9. To fortify Erfurt, in Saxony, and to constitute it a grand *place d'arme* and a depot.—10. To complete and re-equip his cavalry.

The continued obstructions and delays, occasioned by Napoleon to the business of the congress, which assembled at Prague on the 12th of July, and there appearing to be no prospect of his acceding to the required terms, the Emperor of

Austria declared war against Buonaparté*, and thus administered the strongest grounds of expectation that the grand struggle that had been successfully commenced, and the general spirit of the whole continent would, finally, and within a short space of time, be productive to Europe and to the whole world, of the blessings of peace.—The following is the

MANIFESTO

Of his MAJESTY *the* EMPEROR *of* AUSTRIA, KING *of* HUNGARY *and* BOHEMIA.

" The Austrian monarchy has been compelled, by its situation, by its various connections with the other powers, and its importance in the confederacy of European states, to engage in most of those wars which have ravaged Europe for upwards of twenty years. Throughout the progress of these arduous struggles, the same political principle has invariably directed his Imperial Majesty. A lover of peace, from a sense of duty, from his own natural feelings, and from attachment to his people; free from all ambitious thoughts of conquest and aggrandizement, his Majesty has only taken up arms, when called by the urgent necessity of self-preservation, by an anxiety for the fate of contiguous states inseparable from his own, or by the danger of beholding the entire social system of Europe a prey to a lawless and absolute power. To promote justice and order has been the object of his Majesty's life and reign; for this alone has Austria contended. If, in these frequently unsuccessful contests, deep wounds have been inflicted on the monarchy, still his Majesty had the consolation to reflect, that the fate of his empire had not been hazarded upon needless and violent enterprizes, that all his decisions were justifiable before God, his people, his contemporaries, and posterity.

" Notwithstanding the most ample preparations, the war in 1809 would have brought the state to ruin, had not the ever-memorable bravery of the army, and the spirit of true patriotism, which animated all parts of the monarchy, over-balanced every adverse occurrence. The honour of the nation, and its ancient renown in arms, were happily upheld during

* So firmly was Napoleon persuaded, notwithstanding the notes of his ministers, that Austria would continue her alliance with him, that in a conference with an Austrian minister at Dresden, he treated the hint that the Emperor would dare to oppose him, with contempt; and observed to him, " *Vous faites la guerre a moi Bah!*" Another usual observation of Napoleon on this subject, equally proves his conviction of the controul he believed himself to possess in the Austrian councils; " *Jai Metternich dans ma manche qui a un Empereur dans sa poche.*"

all the mischances of this war; but valuable provinces were lost, and Austria, by the cession of the countries bordering upon the Adriatic, was deprived of all share in maritime commerce, one of the most efficient means of promoting her industry; a blow which would have been still more sensibly felt, had not, at the same time, the whole continent been closed by a general and destructive system, preventing all commercial intercourse, and almost suspending all communication among nations. The progress and result of this war fully satisfied his Majesty, that in the obvious impossibility of an immediate and thorough improvement of the political condition of Europe, shaken, as it was, to its very foundation, the exertions of individual states in their own defence, instead of setting bounds to the general distress, would only tend to destroy the little strength they still retained, would hasten the fall of the whole, and even destroy all hopes of future and better times. Under this conviction, his Majesty foresaw the important advantage that would result from a peace, which, if secured for some years, might check this overgrown and hitherto irresistible power; might allow his monarchy that repose which was indispensable to the restoration of his finances and his army; and, at the same time, procure to the neighbouring states a period of relaxation, which, if improved with prudence and activity, might prepare the way to more fortunate times. Such a peace, under the existing circumstances of danger, was only to be obtained by an extraordinary effort. The Emperor was sensible of it, and made this effort; for the preservation of the empire—for the most sacred interests of mankind—as a security against immeasureable evils—as a pledge of a better order of things, his Majesty sacrificed what was dearest to his heart. With this view, exalted above all common scruples, armed against every misconstruction of the moment, an alliance was formed, which was intended, by a sense of some security, to re-animate the weaker and more suffering party, after the miseries of an unsuccessful struggle, to incline the stronger and victorious one to a course of moderation and justice, without which, the community of states can only be considered as a community of misery. His Majesty was the more justified in these expectations, because, at the time of the consummation of this union, the Emperor Napoleon had attained that point of his career when the preservation of his conquests was a more natural and desirable object, than a restless struggle after new possessions. Any farther extension of his dominions, long since outstretching their proper limits, was attended with evident danger, not only to France, already sinking under the burthen of his conquests, but even to his own real personal interest. What his authority gained in extent, it necessarily lost in point of security. By an union with the most ancient imperial family in Christendom, the edifice of his greatness ac-

quired, in the eyes of the French nation, and of the world, such an addition of strength and perfection, that any ulterior scheme of aggrandizement must only weaken and destroy its stability. What France, what Europe, what so many oppressed and despairing nations earnestly demanded of heaven, a sound policy prescribed to the triumphant ruler, as a law of self-preservation: and it was allowed to hope, that so many great and united motives would prevail over the ambition of an individual. If these flattering prospects were destroyed, it is not to be imputed to Austria. After many years of fruitless exertions—after boundless sacrifices of every description, there existed sufficient motives for the attempt to procure a better order of things by confidence and concession, when streams of blood had hitherto produced nothing but misery and destruction: nor can his Majesty ever regret that he has been induced to attempt it. The year 1810 was not yet closed—the war still raged in Spain—the people of Germany had been allowed a sufficient time to recover from the devastations of the two former wars, when, in an evil hour, the emperor Napoleon resolved to unite a considerable portion of the North of Germany with the mass of countries which bore the name of the French empire, and to rob the ancient free commercial cities of Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubeck, first of their political, and shortly after, of their commercial existence, and with that, of their means of subsistence. This violent step was adopted, without even any plausible pretensions, in contempt of every decent form, without any previous declaration or communication with any other cabinet, under the arbitrary and futile pretext that the war with England required it. This cruel system, which was intended to destroy the commerce of the world, at the expence of the independence, the prosperity, the rights and dignity, and in the utter ruin of the public and private property of all the continental powers, was pursued with unrelenting severity; in vain the expectation of forcing a result, which, had it not fortunately proved unattainable, would have plunged Europe, for a long time to come, into a state of poverty, impotence, and barbarity. The decree, by which a new French dominion was established on the German coasts, under the title of a Thirty-second Military Division, was, in itself, sufficiently calculated to raise the suspicions of the adjoining states, and it was the more alarming to them, as the forerunner of future and greater dangers. By this decree, it became evident, that the system which had been created in France, (although previously transgressed, yet still proclaimed to be in existence,) the system of the pretended natural limits of the French empire, was, without any further justification or explanation, overthrown; and even the Emperor's arbitrary acts were, in the same arbitrary manner, annihilated. Neither the princes of the Rhenish confederacy, nor the kingdom of Westphalia, no territory, great or small, was spared in the

accomplishment of this dreadful usurpation. The boundary drawn, apparently by blind caprice, without either rule or plan, without any consideration of ancient or more recent political relations, intersected rivers and countries: cut off the middle and southern states of Germany from all connection with the German sea, passed the Elbe, separated Denmark from Germany, laid its pretensions even to the Baltic, and seemed to be rapidly approaching the line of Prussian fortresses still occupied on the Oder; and so little did this act of usurpation (however powerfully it affected all rights and possessions, all geographic, political, and military lines of of demarcation) carry with it a character of determinate and complete accession of territory, that it was impossible to view it in any other light than as a forerunner of still greater usurpations, by which one half of Germany was to become a French province, and the emperor Napoleon the absolute ruler of the continent. To Russia and Prussia this unnatural extension of the French territory could not fail of producing the most serious alarm. The latter surrounded on all sides, no longer capable of free action, deprived of every means of obtaining fresh strength, appeared hastening to its dissolution. Russia, already in fear for her western frontier, by the conversion of the city of Dantzic, declared a free city by the treaty of Tilsit, into a French military port, and of a great part of Poland, into a French province, could not but see, in the advance of the French dominion along the sea-coast, and in the new chains prepared for Prussia, the imminent danger of her German and Polish possessions. From this moment, therefore, the rupture between France and Russia was as good as decided. Not without deep and just anxiety did Austria observe the storm which was gathering. The scene of hostilities would in every case be contiguous to her provinces, which, owing to the necessary reform in the financial system, which had cramped the restoration of her military means, were in a very defenceless state. In a higher point of view, the struggle which awaited Russia appeared still more doubtful, as it commenced under the same unfavourable conjuncture of affairs, with the same want of co-operation on the part of other powers, and with the same disproportion in their relative means; consequently, was just as hopeless as all former struggles of the same nature. His Majesty the Emperor made every effort in his power, by friendly mediation with both parties, to avert the impending storm. No human judgment could at that time foresee that the period was so near at hand, when the failure of these friendly attempts should prove more injurious to the emperor Napoleon than to his opponents. Thus, however, it was resolved by the wisdom of Providence. When the commencement of hostilities was no longer doubtful, his Majesty was compelled to have recourse

to measures, which, in so unnatural and dangerous a conjuncture, might combine his own security with just considerations for the real interests of neighbouring states. The system of unarmed inaction, the only neutrality which the emperor Napoleon, according to his own declarations, would have permitted, was, by every sound maxim of policy, wholly inadmissible, and would at last have proved only a vain endeavour to shrink from the approaching trial. A power so important as Austria, could not renounce all participation in the interests of Europe, nor could she place herself in a situation in which, equally ineffective in peace or war, she would lose her voice and influence in all great negociations, without acquiring any guarantee for the security of her own frontiers. To prepare for war against France would have been, under the existing circumstances, as little consonant with equity as with prudence. The emperor Napoleon had given his Majesty no personal ground for hostile proceedings; and the prospect of attaining many beneficial results, by a skilful employment of the established friendly relations, by confidential representations, and by conciliatory councils, had not yet been abandoned as hopeless; and, with regard to the immediate interest of the state, such a revolution would inevitably have been attended with this consequence—that the Austrian territory would have become the first and principal seat of war, which, with its well-known deficiency of means of defence, could in a short time have overthrown the monarchy. In this painful situation, his Majesty had no other resource than to take the field on the side of France. To take up arms for France, in the real sense of the word, would have been a measure not only in contradiction with the duties and principles of the Emperor, but even with the repeated declarations of his cabinet, which had, without reserve, disapproved of this war. On the signature of the treaty of the 12th of March, 1812, his Majesty proceeded upon two distinct principles; the first, as it is proved by the words of the treaty, was to leave no means untried, which might sooner or later obtain a peace; the other was to place himself internally and externally in a position which, if it should prove impossible to effect a peace, or in case the turn of the war should render decisive measures in this part necessary, would enable Austria to act with independence; and in either of these cases, to adopt the measures which a wise and just policy should prescribe. Upon this principle it was, that only a fixed and comparatively small part of the army was destined to co-operate in the war; the other military resources, at that time in a state of readiness, or that still remained to be prepared, were not called for the prosecution of this war. By a kind of tacit agreement between the belligerents, the Austrian territory was even treated as neutral. The real end and views of the system adopted by his Majesty could not escape the notice of France, Russia, or any intelligent observer. The campaign of

1812, furnished a memorable exmple of the failure of an undertaking supported by gigantic powers, conducted by a captain of the first rank, when, in the confidence of great military talents, he despises the rules of prudence, and outsteps the bounds of nature. The illusion of glory carried the emperor Napoleon into the heart of the Russian empire; and a false political view of things induced him to imagine that he should dictate a peace in Moscow, should cripple the Russian power for half a century, and then return victorious. When the magnanimous constancy of the emperor of Russia, the glorious deeds of his warriors, and the unshaken fidelity of his people, put an end to this dream, it was too late to repeat it with impunity. The whole French army was scattered and destroyed: in less than four months we have seen the theatre of war transferred from the Dnieper and the Dwina to the Oder and the Elbe. This rapid and extraordinary change of fortune was the forerunner of an important revolution in all the political relations of Europe. The confederacy of Russia, Great Britain, and Sweden, presented a point of union to all neighbouring states. Prussia, whom report had long declared determined to risk all, to prefer even the danger of immediate political destruction to the lingering sufferings of continued oppression, seized the favourable moment, and threw herself into the arms of the allies. Many greater and smaller princes of Germany were ready to do the same. Every-where the ardent desires of the people anticipated the regular proceedings of their governments. Their impatience to live in independence, and under their own laws, the sentiment of wounded national honour, and the hatred of a foreign dominion, broke out in bright flames on all sides. His Majesty the Emperor, too intelligent not to consider this change of affairs as the natural and necessary consequence of a previous and violent political convulsion, and too just to view it in anger, was solely bent upon securing, by deep-digested and well-combined measures, the real and permanent interest of the European common-wealth. Already, in the beginning of December, considerable steps had been taken on the part of the Austrian cabinet, in order to dispose the emperor Napoleon to quiet and peaceful policy, on grounds which equally interested the world and his own welfare. These steps were from time to time renewed and enforced. Hopes had been entertained that the impression of last year's campaign, the recollection of the fruitless sacrifice of an immense army, the severe measures of every description that would be necessary to replace that loss, the decided disinclination of France, and of all those nations connected with her, to a war, which, without any prospect of future indemnification exhausted and ruined her internal strength; that lastly, even a calm reflection on the doubtful issue of this new and highly-imminent crisis, would move the Emperor to listen to the representa-

tions of Austria. The tone of these representations was carefully adapted to the circumstances of the times, serious as the greatness of the object, moderate as the desire of a favorable issue, and as the existing friendly relations required. That overtures flowing from so pure a motive should be decidedly rejected, could not certainly be foreseen. But the manner in which they were received, and still more the striking contrast between the sentiments entertained by Austria, and the whole conduct of the Emperor Napoleon, to the period of these unsuccessful endeavours for peace, soon destroyed the best hopes that were entertained. Instead of endeavouring, by a moderate language, to improve at least our view of the future, and to lessen the general despondency, it was on every occasion, solemnly declared, before the highest authorities in France, that the Emperor would hear of no proposition for peace, that should violate the integrity of the French empire, in the French sense of the word, or that should make any pretension to the arbitrarily-incorporated provinces. At the same time, eventual conditions, with which this self-created boundary did not even appear to have any relation, were spoken of, at one time with menacing indignation, at another with bitter contempt; as if it had not been possible to declare in terms sufficiently distinct, the resolution of the emperor Napoleon, *not to make to the repose of the world even one single nominal sacrifice.* These hostile demonstrations were attended with this particular mortification to Austria, that they placed even the invitations to peace which this cabinet, with the knowledge and apparent consent of France, made to other courts, in a false and highly-disadvantageous light. The sovereigns united against France, instead of any answer to Austria's proposition for negociation, and her offers of mediation, laid before her the public declaration of the French Emperor. And when in the month of March, his Majesty sent a minister to London, to invite England to share in a negociation for peace, the British ministry replied, "That they would not believe Austria still entertained any hopes of peace, when the emperor Napoleon had, in the mean time, expressed sentiments which could only tend to the perpetuation of war:" a declaration which was the more painful to his Majesty, the more it was just and well founded. Austria, however, did not, upon this account, cease to impress in more forcible and distinct terms, the necessity of peace upon the mind of the emperor of France; directed in all her measures by this principle, that, as all order and balance of power in Europe had been destroyed by the boundless superiority of France, no real peace was to be expected, unless that superiority were diminished. His Majesty, in the mean time, adopted every necessary measure to strengthen and concentrate his armies; sensible that Austria must be prepared for war, if her mediation were not entirely unavailing. His Im-

perial Majesty had, moreover, been long since persuaded that the probability of an immediate share in the war, would no longer be excluded from his calculations. The actual state of things could not be continued: of this the Emperor was convinced. This conviction was the main spring of his actions, and was naturally strengthened by the failure of any attempt to procure a peace. The result was apparent. By one means or the other, either by negociation or by force of arms, a new state of things must be effected. The emperor Napoleon was not only aware of the Austrian preparations for war, but even acknowledged them as necessary, and justified them in more than one instance. He had sufficient reason to believe that his Majesty the Emperor, at so decisive a period for the fate of the whole world, would lay aside all personal and momentary feelings, would alone consult the lasting welfare of Austria, and of the countries by which she is surrounded, and would resolve nothing but what this great motive should impose as a duty upon him. The Austrian cabinet had never expressed itself in terms that would warrant any other construction; and yet the French did not only acknowledge that the Austrian mediation could only be an armed mediation, but declared, upon more than one occasion, that Austria, under existing circumstances, ought no longer to confine herself to act a secondary part, but should appear in force upon the stage, and decide as a great and independent power. Whatever the French government could either hope or fear from Austria, this acknowledgment was of itself a previous justification of the whole intended, and hitherto adopted measures of his Imperial Majesty. Thus far were circumstances developed when the emperor Napoleon left Paris, in order to make head against the progress of the allied armies. Even their enemies have done homage to the valour of the Russian and Prussian troops in the sanguinary actions of the month of May. That however, the result of this first period of the campaign was not more favorable to them, was owing partly to the great numerical superiority of the French force, and to the universally acknowledged military talents of their leader, and partly to the political combinations by which the allied sovereigns were guided in all their undertakings. They acted under the just supposition, that a cause like the one in which they were engaged, could not possibly be confined to themselves, that sooner or later, whether successful or unfortunate, every state which still preserved a shadow of independence must join in their confederacy, every independent army must act with them. They therefore did not allow farther scope to the bravery of their troops than the moment required, and preserved a considerable part of their strength for a period, when, with more extended means, they might look to

the attainment of greater objects. For the same cause, and with a view to the developement of events, they consented to the armistice.

In the mean time, the retreat of the allies had for the moment given an appearance to the war, which daily became more interesting to the Emperor, from the impossibility, if it should proceed, of his remaining an inactive spectator of it. The fate of the Prussian monarchy was a point which peculiarly attracted the attention of his Majesty, feeling, as the Emperor did, that the restoration of the Prussian monarchy was the first step towards that of the whole political system of Europe, and he viewed the danger in which she now stood as equally affecting himself. Already, in the month of April had the emperor Napoleon suggested to the Austrian cabinet, that he considered the dissolution of the Prussian monarchy as a natural consequence of her defection from France, and of a continuation of the war, and that it now only depended upon Austria to add the most important and most flourishing of her own provinces to its own state; a suggestion which shewed distinctly enough that no means could properly be neglected to save that power. If this great object could not be obtained by a just peace, it was necessary to support Russia and Prussia by a powerful co-operation. From this natural view of things, upon which even France could no longer deceive herself, his Majesty continued his preparations with unwearied activity. He quitted, in the early part of July, his residence, and proceeded to the vicinity of the scene of action, in order the more effectually to labour at the negociation for peace, which still continued to be the object of his most ardent desires; and partly to be able the more effectually to conduct the preparations for war, if no other choice should remain for Austria. A short time before, the emperor Napoleon had declared, "that he had proposed a congress to be held at Prague, where plenipotentiaries from France, the United States of North America, Denmark, the King of Spain, and the other allied princes on the one hand, and on the other, plenipotentiaries of England, Russia, Prussia, the Spanish insurgents, and the other allies of this hostile mass, should meet, and lay the ground-work of a durable peace." To whom this proposition was addressed, in what manner, in what diplomatic form, through whose organ it could have been done, was perfectly unknown to the Austrian cabinet, which only was made acquainted with the circumstance through the medium of the public prints. How, too, such a project could be brought to bear—how, from the combination of such dissimilar elements, without any generally acknowledged principle, without any previously regulated plan, a negociation for peace was to be set on foot, was so little to be comprehended, that it was very allowable to consider the whole proposition rather as a play of the imagination, than as a serious invitation to the adoption of

a great political measure. Perfectly acquainted with all the obstacles to a general peace, Austria had long considered whether this distant and difficult object was not rather to be obtained progressively; and, in this opinion, had expressed herself both to France, and to Russia and Prussia, upon the subject of a continental peace. Not that the Austrian court had misconceived, even for a moment, the necessity and importance of an universal peace among all the great powers of Europe, and without which there was no hope of either safety or happiness; or had imagined that the continent could exist, if the separation of England were not invariably considered as a most deadly evil! The negociation which Austria proposed, after the alarming declaration of France had nearly destroyed all the hopes of England uniting her endeavours in the attempt to procure a general peace, was an essential part of the great approaching negociation, for a general and effective congress for peace; it was intended as preparatory to this, to draw up the preliminary articles of the future treaty, to pave the way by a long continental armistice to a more extended and durable negociation, Had the principle upon which Austria advanced, been other than this, neither Russia nor Prussia, bound by the strongest ties to England, would certainly ever have listened to the proposals of the Austrian cabinet. After the Russian and Prussian courts, animated by a confidence in his Majesty, highly flattering to the Emperor, had already declared their concurrence in the proposed congress, under the mediation of Austria, it became necessary to obtain the formal assent of the emperor Napoleon, and to determine upon what principles the negociations for peace were to be carried on. For this purpose, his Imperial Majesty resolved, towards the end of the month of June, to send his minister for foreign affairs to Dresden. The result of this mission was, a convention, concluded upon the 30th of June, accepting the mediation of his Imperial Majesty in the negociation of a general, and if that could not be effected, of a preliminary continental peace. The city of Prague was fixed upon for the meeting of the congress, and the 5th of July for the day of its opening. In order to obtain a sufficient time for the negociation, it was determined by the same convention, that the emperor Napoleon should not give notice of the rupture of the armistice which was to terminate on the 20th of July, at that time existing between himself and Russia, till the 10th of August: and his Majesty the Emperor took upon himself to obtain a similar declaration from the Russian and Prussian courts. The points which had been determined in Dresden were hereupon imparted to the two courts. Although the continuation of the armistice was attended with many objections, and with much serious inconvenience to them, the desire of giving to his Imperial Majesty another proof of their confidence, and at the same time to sa-

tisfy the world that they would not reject any prospect of peace, however confined it might be; that they would not refuse any attempt which might prepare the way to it, overcame every consideration. The only alteration made in the convention of the 30th of June, was, that the term of the opening the congress, since the final regulations could not so soon be determined, should be deferred until the 12th of July. In the mean time, his Majesty, who would not as yet abandon all hopes of completly terminating, by a general peace, the sufferings of mankind, and the convulsions of the political world, had also resolved upon a new attempt with the British government. The emperor Napoleon not only received the proposal with apparent approbation, but even voluntarily offered to expedite the business, by allowing the persons to be dispatched for that purpose to England a passage through France. When it was to be carried into effect, unexpected difficulties arose—the passports were delayed from time to time, under trifling pretexts, and at length entirely refused. This proceeding afforded a fresh and important ground for entertaining just doubts as to the sincerity of the assurances which the emperor Napoleon had more than once publicly expressed of his disposition to peace, although several of his expressions, at that particular period, afforded just reason to believe that a maritime peace was the object of his most anxious solicitude. During that interval, their Majesties the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia had nominated their plenipotentiaries to the congress, and had furnished them with very decisive instrtionsi On the 12th of July they both arrived at Prague, as well as his Majesty's minister, charged with the concerns of the mediation. The negociations were not to be protracted beyond the 10th of August, except in the event of their assuming such a character as to induce a confident hope of a favourable result. To that day the armistice had been extended through the mediation of Austria; the political and military situation of the allied sovereigns, the condition of the countries they occupied, and their anxious wish to terminate an irksome period of uncertainty, prevented any further extension of it. With all these circumstances the emperor Napoleon was acquainted; he well knew that the period of the negociations was necessarily defined by that of the armistice; and he could not, moreover, conceal from himself how much his own determinations would influence the happy abridgment and successful result of the pending negociations. It was therefore with real sorrow that his Majesty soon perceived, not only that no serious step was taken by France, to accelerate this great work, but on the contrary, it appeared as if a procrastination of the negociations, and evasion of a favourable issue, had been decidedly intended. There was, indeed, a French minister at the place of congress, but without any orders to proceed to business, until the appearance of the first plenipotentiary. The

arrival of that plenipotentiary was in vain expected from day to day. Nor was it until the 21st of July that it was ascertained, that a demur which took place on settling the renewal of the armistice between the French and Russian and Prussian commissioners—an obstruction of very subordinate importance, having no influence whatever upon the congress, and which might have been very easily and speedily removed by the interference of Austria—was made use of as the justification of this extraordinary delay. And when this last pretext was removed, it was not until the 28th of July, 16 days after that appointed for the opening of the congress, that the first French plenipotentiary arrived. Even in the very first days after this minister's arrival, no doubt remained as to the date of the congress. The form in which the full powers were to be delivered, and the mutual explanations should be conducted, (a point which had already been treated by all parties,) became the object of a discussion which rendered all the endeavours of the mediating power abortive. The apparent insufficiency of the powers entrusted to the French negociator occasioned a silence of several days. Nor was it until the 6th of August, that this minister gave in a new declaration, by which the difficulties, with respect to forms, were by no means removed, nor the negociation by one step brought nearer to its object. After a useless exchange of notes upon every preliminary question, the 10th of August arrived. The Prussian and Russian negociators could not exceed this term: the congress was at an end; and the resolution which Austria had to form was previously determined, by the progress of this negociation—by the actual conviction of the impossibility of peace—by the no longer doubtful point of view in which his Majesty examined the great question in dispute—by the principles and intentions of the allies, wherein the Emperor recognized his own—and, finally, by the former positive declarations, which left no room for misconception. Not without sincere affliction, and alone consoled by the certainty that every means to avoid the war had been exhausted, does the Emperor now find himself compelled to action. For three years has his Majesty laboured with unceasing perseverance to effect, by mild and conciliatory measures, real and durable peace for Austria and for Europe. All his endeavours have failed; there is now no remedy—no recourse to be had, but to arms. The Emperor takes them up without any personal animosity—from a painful necessity—from an irresistible duty, upon grounds which any faithful citizen of his realm—which the world—which the Emperor Napoleon himself, in a moment of tranquility and reason, will acknowledge and justify. The necessity of this war is engraven in the heart of every Austrian—of every European, under whosoever dominion he may live—in such legible characters, that no art is necessary to distinguish them. The nation and the army will

do their duty. An union established by common necessity, and by the mutual interest of every power that is in arms for its independence, will give due weight to our exertions; and the result, with the assistance of heaven, will be such as must fulfil the just expectations of every friend of order and of peace."

The chief object of this declaration was to prove, that Austria did do all she could to obtain a general peace; and that if Europe was so unfortunate as to be again deluged with blood, it would be owing entirely to the ambition of Napoleon, whose passionate self-will could bear no remonstrance, and whose daily encroachments on the continental territory could only be construed one way, and only prevented at last by one united effort. In this effort the Austrian monarch did not affect to take any particular lead, nor to have any other end, but what is common to the interests of all parties. Russia and Prussia were complimented on their bold seizure of opportunity—his own hesitation to join them, was vindicated on the score of new relationships—of acknowledged diminution of strength—and if he committed himself with their fortunes at last, it was in the hope and expectation, not of taking dominion out of the hands of the enemy, whom he flattered with the title of "Great Captain," but of shewing him the necessity of allowing others their dominion also, and of settling comfortably in the rank of a brother sovereign.

So far all was well and manly, and such language, if it had exhibited no weaker spirit, might be the most formidable, from its rationality, that Napoleon had ever witnessed. But one symptom in the declaration, the display of which could produce no good to the cause.—The Austrian emperor, by his own shewing, was a weak, as well as a worthy man; much inclined to do impossible acts of good offices, and to feel alarmed, lest the person whom he is to oppose, should think angrily of him. The resolution of Napoleon, not to recede a jot from his purpose, was, according to

to his own confession, well known to him :—it was indeed too manifest, and too glaring; and in answer to the representations of Austria, a tone was used, sometimes of menacing indignation, and sometimes of bitter contempt. Yet in the midst of this complex understanding on both sides, the Austrian emperor, " with the knowledge and apparent consent of France," took upon himself to hold out invitations of peace to the other powers, who, in consequence of Buonaparte's repeated declarations in public, very naturally gave him to understand, that they could not believe him, and as he says, exceedingly satisfied him by so doing. With the same feebleness of conduct, and a not knowing how to say nay, he fell into a proposal, of which he plainly tells Europe he perceived the utility—that of the congress; and this led to the armistice. Another measure, it seems, of a studied delay on the part of France, as his Majesty very soon perceived, yet, somehow or other, he could not bring himself to let it expire, but with this very conviction on his mind, he became a party in keeping it up a month beyond its time. At this period the Prussian and Russian negociators appear to have put on faces equally determined and compassionate, and to have given his Majesty to understand, that however fully they sympathized with the state into which he had brought himself, it was really impossible for them to continue the jest any longer. Accordingly, the farce of negociation was at an end, and probably, from a return of kindness, partly from shame, partly from resentment, though chiefly, no doubt, from a sense of his duty, the Emperor joined the allies, who had behaved so politely to him; and declared war against his son-in-law.

As far as this immediate point of declaration is concerned, it is extremely curious, and savours, in a very characteristic manner, between provocation and good-nature—between resentment and fear—between bare truths and pacifying. At one

minute his Majesty does not scruple to talk of abitrary caprices, and dreadful usurpations; at the next he compliments Napoleon on his wonderful talents, and is careful to inform the world he has no personal animosity against him; he then exhibits much annoyance at being made a tool on various occasions, but quite evinces a desire, that he would have done any thing rather than provoke the anger of his son-in-law; in fine, he readshim a most excellent lesson on his ill success in the North, which he characterizes as the result of an "illusion" of a "false political view of things," and of a "dream;" but he concludes with hoping, that Napoleon himself, though he is blind to the consequences of all this, will, "in a moment of tranquility and reason, acknowledge and justify" the grounds of this declaration against him. We certainly can conceive nothing more likely to take away all tranquility and reason from a man of Napoleon's temper, than the being talked to in this manner, and told so much manifesting truth, by one whose understanding he does not respect, and whom he looked upon as his confirmed vassal for life. It is more than probable, that one great blow struck at Austria, would have brought its Emperor back again to his son-in-law, and have overthrown the cause of the allies. What Europe long wanted was a man of *real* greatness, in opposition to the imperfect greatness of Napoleon. He is a man of *great* talents with very *little* principle; and from the concentration and mightiness of his powers stood a better chance, even against a similar genius to himself; but those with whom he has had to contend, have been men who, in addition to his want of principle, have been destitute of his talents: and if here and there a man of principle has been found, the same deficiency has been still observable. Now if a counter-genius were to rise up, who in addition to the talents of Buonaparté, possessed so much virtue that should give them a new stamp of sincerity and benevolence,—who could

win victories like a great soldier, but use them like a good man,—who feeling that he had genius to be first, could still place his ambition in being best and wisest,—who, with a mind not to be imposed upon by mere size and noise, that is to say by extent of possession, and beating of drums and trumpets, could sheath his sword, like our ever-glorious Alfred, the moment it had done enough for the security of his people, and the prosecution of peaceful acts—that is, the opponent before whom Napoleon would tremble, for the first time, and feel that all his fiery spirit, his pomp, and his dominations, were only so much school-boy stubborness, and playing at soldiers, in the presence of a truly great man. If courts are not in the habit of producing such men, it is because virtue in courts is made a contemptible thing in comparison with talents; and because, by the impunity which they claim for their *vices*, talents themselves become secondary things, at least to an acquiescence in *folly*. By these means, sense as well as goodness, gradually forsake the very stations in society, which, for the welfare of mankind, have most need of both;—these cause revolutions; and if the nations are not prepared for the evet, by previous and long warnings how to use them properly, some clever villain starts up, who by the mere strength of his talents, does what he pleases with the world, till the vices of his own actions and government, by a natural tendency, call down the same punishment which has visited others. So necessary is it to recur to simple and first principles, when a real disorder in the world is to be remedied; and so sure is it to be on the score of some moral deficiency that princes and scholars are made to suffer.

A treaty of amity and defensive alliance was entered into between the courts of Petersburgh and Vienna, and also between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, on the 9th of September, 1813.

Before we enter upon a new chapter, and the recommencement of hostilities, we shall give a brief and comparative statement of the physical, economical, and moral forces of Napoleon in the years 1812 and 1813, which will, at one view, shew the data from which the allies calculated a successful issue to their exertions.

January, 1812.

1. Napoleon was in absolute possession of the French empire, the kingdom of Italy, Illyria, and the southern part of Spain.—2. He was undoubtedly master of the states of the Confederation of the Rhine, of Prussia, of the kingdom of Naples, and the grand duchy of Warsaw; he had possession of the fortresses on the Oder, and a limited alliance with Denmark.—3. Austria dreaded his power; her military system was reduced; circumstances rendered her his ally; she consented to give him 30,000 men.—4. Russia kept her ports shut; she had 120,000 men upon her frontier to defend her independence, but she was at war with England and the Porte, and soon after with Sweden.—5. This latter power was in a state of neutrality with France, and Napoleon offered her subsidies to induce her to declare herself for him.—6. Napoleon had an army of 500,000 veterans upon the Oder and the Vistula, to attack Russia; this war drew more than 600,000,000 out of his treasury, and 7,000 pieces of artillery from his arsenals. The Poles supplied him with 80,000 men and 100,000,000. He brought into this war 70,000 cavalry.—7. Napoleon had in his own hands the monopoly of colonial product throughout almost all Europe. This monopoly brought him in 100,000,000.—8. Napoleon drew contributions from Austria, from Prussia, and from Illyria. He had the revenue of all Italy, from the Confederacy of Germany, from Poland, and that of the French empire, which amounted to nearly 1000,000,000. Notwithstanding those measures, the deficiency for the year 1813 was doubled.—9. Notwithstanding the battles of Aspern and Eylau, Napoleon had preserved the reputation of being invincible; he enjoyed an opinion that nothing could resist him; it was sufficient for him to order, and every thing gave way to his will—to direct, and every thing gave way to his wish; to announce an event, and the prediction was fulfilled Spain alone formed an exception, which, however, had not dissipated the belief.

August, 1813.

1. Napoleon had lost a part of the 32d military division, a part of Illyria, all Spain, and the Dalmatian islands.—2. Prussia, Mecklenburg, and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, are now no longer his dependencies; Prussia and Mecklenburg are, on the contrary, in arms against him.—3. Austria

had an army of upwards of 400,000 men; she was no longer allied to France, but had acceded to the new alliance against her.—4. Russia had beyond her frontiers 200,000 men; she occupied the Grand Duchy of Warsaw; her ports were open; she was united with England, Prussia, Sweden, and Spain; she was at peace with Turkey, which considerably increased her moral force; and it has been proved by facts that she could not be conquered.—5. Sweden having entered into the new war, furnished more than 30,000 men, who were acting on the continent.—6. Those 50,000 veterans of Napoleon had disappeared; he had lost nearly all his cavalry, several marshals, 80 generals. Of this army only some thousands of officers remained to him; the cannon, arms, effects, the 600 millions were lost, together with Prussian and Polish contingents; he had only of the latter, 15,000 men.—7. That monopoly had almost entirely disappeared, since the ports of Russia and Prussia had been opened; since the war terminated between the Russians and Turks, and the English occupied the Dalmatian islands.—8. The Austrian, Polish, and Prussian contributions had ceased; Illyria was exhausted; the war and army expences had doubled. There no longer existed a continental system against England; it was in fact destroyed.—9. The battles of Smolensk and Borodino, of Krasnoy, of Lutzen, and all the last campaign, proved that his power might be resisted.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Introductory Observations.—Arrival of General Moreau.—Movements of the Armies.—Defeat of General St. Cyr.—Attack upon Dresden by the Allies, and their Retreat.—Death of General Moreau.—Defeat and Capture of Vandamme at Kulm.

THE crisis now approaching, promised great events. Military talents of the higher order were to be exerted.—Armies, formed on the most gigantic scale were to be put in motion; and operations, in comparison of which many of the most renowned battles which fill the pages of history, were mere skirmishes, were about to be undertaken; Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, Austria, Sweden, Portugal, and Spain, were ranged on the one side.—France, Holland, Denmark, Italy, Bavaria, Saxony, and the other states of Germany, on the other. And whether we reflect upon the vast tract of country over which the desolations of war were to sweep the wide waste of human life; or the vast issue at stake—the prolongation of a system of oppression and violence which had filled all Europe with woes—or the emancipation of millions of our fellow men from a rapacious and restless ambition—no preceding period since the political formation of modern Europe, had to vie with acts so mighty, and occurrences so pregnant with curses or blessings suspended in the uncertain balance of military fortune. The allies were at this time strong in the justice of their cause*; and it is to be la-

* The right, it is true, does not immediately prosper; but violent aggression, by a law of Providence and nature, which tyrants in vain endeavour to abolish, creates a power of re-action against itself, which seldom fails, alternately, to overpower it. Napoleon had already felt this without profiting by his experience He had felt it in Russia; and the mighty preparations now organized against him, were but the effects of that re-action which his attempts upon sovereignty of the continent had provoked. If ever nations could appeal to the equitable decision of that power which controuls the universe, the allied nations could make that appeal. If the justice of

mented, the duplicity and want of principle manifested by many of the allied sovereigns to their subjects, by whose innumerable sacrifices and privations, and ardent love for their country, they overcame the common enemy, urged on by the promises of an amelioration in the system of their governments, and more liberal constitutions, to be established in lieu of the present; that when the great object had been obtained, every occasion and artifice was resorted to, to delay the promised boon, and finally, when they conceived themselves again firmly established on their thrones, unblushingly threw off the mask, and deprived them of some of the few liberties that they still enjoyed, particularly in respect to the liberty of propagating information, by establishing a severe censorship over the press, throughout Germany; and in some Austrian states more particularly, the education of youth was forbid to be followed by any but the clergy. This circumstance alone speaks volumes, and will teach nations, when they possess the power, carefully to provide against its being vested solely at the disposal of an individual.

And here it is proper to mention, that the cause of the allies was now to have the assistance of a man distinguished as one of the greatest soldiers of the age. General Moreau having acceded to the wishes of the emperor Alexander, that he should give his aid on this great occasion, an application was made to the British admiral, Cockburn, for a licence to enable an American ship to proceed to Europe. The licence was granted, and on the 21st of June he sailed from America, landed at Gottenburgh on the 26th of July, and on the 4th of August he again embarked at Ystadt in a Swedish ship of war for Stralsund. The prince royal of Sweden, who was then at Berlin, set off to give his old

a cause can inspire vigour into the breasts of those who support it, then the allied armies must have been roused by the force of this motive to deeds of the greatest heroism.

friend a meeting, and concert with him a plan of military operations. It was determined by those two experienced officers, that they should organize a separate *corps de armée*, to be composed of French prisoners, and called Moreau's Legion*.

The disposeable force Napolean possessed at this period, notwithstanding his connexions in the Russian campaign, perhaps exceeded any he before had commanded: the main body, under his own immediate command, was no less than 300,000 men, in addition to which, marshal Davoust, prince of Eckmuhl, commanded a considerable force, with which he defended Holstein and Hamburgh, and threatened Pomerania. The main French army was very closely concentrated, and its position formed a semi-circle round Lusatia, of which the Lower Elbe was the base, and Dresden the centre. The following were the positions occupied by each corps. Marshal Macdonald, duke of Reggio, commanded the 4th, 7th, and 12th corps, stationed at Dahme; the 3d corps, under marshal Ney, prince of Moskwa, at Leignitz; the 5th corps at Goldsberg, under general Lauriston; the 11th corps at

* It could hardly be believed that men who had possessed much military experience as these generals did, ever seriously contemplated such a measure, if we had it not recorded in the most satisfactory manner. The result of a similar measure that had taken place in the invasion of France, by the expedition to Quiberon, under the direction of many eminent emigrant officers, assisted by a powerful English fleet and troops, and a population inclined not to oppose any obstacles to the plan, was of too recent a date to be forgotten, and should have deterred them from ever endeavouring to put such a plan into execution. This body was to be decorated with a white cockade—to bear the motto "*Pro patria*,"—to fight for the deliverance of Europe,—and in particular for the emancipation of Frenchmen. Another part of the plan was, that general Wilmot, who was expected from America, and general Rewbel, the (commander-in-chief of the Westphalian army when the Duke of Brunswick escaped, and who was disgraced by Buonaparté on account of that event), should organize such of the French prisoners as they could raise in England, and disembark them in the north of France. The execution of this plan, however, from which little good could be expected, was soon interrupted by the melancholy event which closed the career of general Moreau.

Lowenberg, under the duke of Tarente; the 6th corps, under marshal Marmont, duke of Ragusa, at Buntzlau; the 8th corps, under prince Poniatowski, at Zittau; marshal St. Cyr was with the 14th corps, the left leaning upon the Elbe to the camp at Kœnigstein, on both sides the great road from Prague to Dresden, pushing corps of observation to the debouches from Lowenberg. The 1st corps had arrived at Dresden, and the 2d corps at Zittau. Dresden, Torgau, Wittenburg, Magdeburg, and Hamburgh, had each a French garrison.

The grand army of the allies, consisting of the whole Austrian forces, and large Russian and Prussian detachments, had its position in Bohemia. This force, computed at 200,000 men, was under prince Schwartzenberg, and stiled the Austro-Russian army. Another of the allied corps, the army of Silesia, under field marshal Blucher, consisting of 100,000 men, was in Silesia. This army was composed of the remains of the Russian and Prussian regulars, and of a considerable body of well-organized militia. To the army of Silesia, the Prussian general D'Yorck, and the Russian generals Sachen and Langeron, were also attached. A third corps, the army of the north of Germany, was under the prince-royal of Sweden. This force was estimated at 120,000 men, and consisted of the whole Swedish army, large corps of Russian and Prussian regulars, the Brandenburgh militia, the troops levied frem the Hanse towns and other districts that had risen against the ambitious projects of Napoleon. Besides the advantage the allies acquired in point of numbers from the accession of Austria to their cause, a further benefit was derived from the power of turning the barrier of the Elbe, a principal part of that river flowing through Bohemia, where they might pass without opposition. The Prince-royal of Sweden's army covered Berlin on one side; on the other it observed marshal Davoust's corps and the garrison of Magdeburg. The emperor of Russia and the

king of Prussia remained with the grand army, to which was also attached the Russian generals Barclay de Tolly, Witgenstein, and Miloradovitch; and the Prussian general Kleist: the Austrian general, prince Schwartzenberg, acted as commander-in-chief.

The divided position of the allies flattered Napoleon with great hopes of success, he expected to be able, with his powerful force, to crush the army occupying the centre position, (marshal Blucher's) and aftewards to attack separately, the armies of prince Schwartzenberg and the prince royal of Sweden.

On the denunciation of the armistice, it had been determined by the allies to debouche from Bohemia by the several passes into Saxony, and enter on immediate offensive operations in flank and rear of the French, if they continued to maintain their forward positions in Lusatia, and remained on the right bank of the Elbe. While the Austro-Russian army was to act offensively from Bohemia, the army of Silesia was to move on Lusatia, and threaten them in front; but general Blucher, commanding the latter force, was directed to avoid engaging in any general action, especially against superior numbers. On the 20th of August, general Blucher advanced in three columns from Leignitz, Goldberg, and Janer, on Buntzlau and Lowenberg. General Sachen, commanding one column, moved on the right, on Buntzlau; general D'York, with another column, moved on the centre; and general Langeron with the third column on the left. The French abandoned Buntzlau, destroyed their works, and blew up a magazine of powder there; and general Blucher advanced to the Bober, where on the following day, the 21st, it was attacked by the French, who moved in great force on Buntzlau, Lowenberg, and Laun.

Napoleon had moved on the 19th to Zittau, and instantly directed prince Poniatowski's corps

to march: he forced the debouches of Bohemia, passed the great chain of mountains which separate from Bohemia, Lusace, and entered Gabel, whilst general Lefevre Desnouettes, with a division of infantry and cavalry, obtained possession of Rumburg, cleared the neck of the mountains at Georgenthal; and the Polish general Reminski took Friedland and Reichenburg. The object of these first operations of Napoleon, was to ascertain the direction which the allied armies were taking, and to acquire certain information respecting their designs. Leaving therefore, the duke of Belluno, at Zittau with the 2d corps, to strenghten the corps of prince Poniatowski, and general Vandamme with the first corps a Rumburg, to support generals Lefevre Desnouettes, Napoleon immediately returned from Zittau, and proceeded rapidly to Lauban, in Silesia, to arrest the progress of general Blucher. On the 21st he reached Lowenberg, and caused bridges to be thrown across the Bober, to which river, as already observed, general Blucher's force had advanced.

An engagement commenced, and the allied troops, though opposed to numbers much superior to their own, contested the ground with great bravery; but as general Blucher had received orders to avoid a general engagement, he withdrew in the best order to Raynau, Pilgramsdorf, Hershberg, and behind the Katsbach. The loss on both sides in this affair was considerable; general Blucher's amounted to 2,000 men, but he retired with his army completely unbroken.

Whilst these operations were pursued in Silesia, the French made another movement on a great scale, in the direction of Berlin, against the army of the North of Germany, under the prince royal of Sweden. On the 15th his royal highness issued the annexed proclamation:

" *The* PRINCE ROYAL, GENERALISSIMO, *to the* ARMY.

" SOLDIERS !

" Called by the confidence of my king, and of the sovereigns, his allies, to lead you in the career which is about to open, I rely for the success of our arms on the Divine protection, the justice of our cause, and on your valour and perseverance.—Had it not been for the extraordinary concurrence of events, which have given to the last twelve years a dreadful celebrity, you would not have been assembled on the soil of Germany; but your sovereigns have felt that Europe is a great family, and that none of the States of which it is composed can remain indifferent to the evils imposed upon any of its members by a conquering power. They are also convinced that when such a power threatens to attack and subjugate many others, there ought to exist only one will among those nations that are determined to escape from shame and slavery. From that moment you were called from the banks of the Wolga and the Don, from the shores of Britain and the mountains of the north, to unite with the German warriors, who defend the cause of Europe. This, then, is the moment when rivalry, national prejudices and antipathies, ought to disappear before the grand object of the independance of nations.

" The Emperor Napoleon cannot live in peace with Europe unless Europe be his slave. His presumption carried 400,000 brave men 800 miles from their own country: misfortunes, against which he did not deign to provide, fell upon their heads, and 300,000 Frenchmen perished on the territory of a great empire, the sovereign of which made every effort to maintain peace with France. It was to be expected that this terrible disaster, the effect of Divine vengeance, would have inclined the emperor of France to a less murderous system; and that instructed, at last, by the example of the North and of Spain, he would have renounced the idea of subjugating the continent, and have consented to let the world be at peace; but this hope has been disappointed, and that peace, which all governments desire, and which every government has proposed, has been rejected by the emperor Napoleon.

" SOLDIERS !

" It is to arms, then, we must have recourse, to conquer repose and independence. The same sentiments which guided the French in 1792, and which prompted them to assemble and to combat the armies which entered *their* territory, ought now to animate your valour against those who, after having *invaded the land which gave you* birth, still hold in chains your brothers, your wives, and your children.

" SOLDIERS !

What a noble prospect is opened to you ! The liberty of Europe, the re-establishment of the equilibrium, the end of that convulsive state which has had twenty years duration;

finally, the peace of the world will be the result of your efforts. Render yourselves worthy, by your union, your discipline, and your courage, of the high destiny which awaits you.

"CHARLES JOHN."

"From my Head-quarters at Oranienburg, August 15, 1813."

All the movements, of the allied forces, in other quarters, were but auxiliary to the grand attack preparing to be made on Dresden by the Austro-Russian army. In addition to the distinguished generals with this army, the allies were also aided in their councils and in the field by general Moreau.

On the 20th and 21st, the Austro-Russian army commenced passing the frontiers of Bohemia; count Witgenstein's and general Kliest's columns by the passes of Peterswalde; the Austrians by Komataw. On the 22d, the corps of count Witgenstein fell in with the French near Berghishabel and Zepista. A considerable encounter took place, in which, success attended the allies. The French were driven from all the positions they had occupied on the frontiers of Bohemia, and obliged to fall back towards Dresden, into which capital, Napoleon entered on the 29th, at eight o'clock in the morning. The different columns of the allied armies were to debouche from the mountains and passes, at such concerted periods as could have proved fatal to the French, if the arrangement, as planned, had been completely carried into effect. This was, however, prevented by the great eagerness of the troops to push on and engage, and by which the right corps was brought into action on the morning of the 22d. General Gouvion St. Cyr commanded a force of 15,000 men, which was supported by a corps of 6,000 under general Bonnet. After a very sharp action, count Witgenstein drove the French from all points, and took between 3 and 400 prisoners. The French, after this action, retired into Koenigstein, his entrenched camp at Lichenstein, and also into the various works he had thrown up round Dresden; whilst the allies pressed close upon him, with the view of

encircling that capital. The Russian regiment of Grodo, belonging to count Witgenstein's corps, warmly attacked on the 26th, a body of the enemy, close to Dresden, and succeeded in taking 4 guns and 1 howitzer. The advanced guard of the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, encamped on the night of the 26th, on the heights above Dresden, between Nanslitz and Ischernitz. In the morning of the 27th, the French abandoned the ground which they occupied in advance of Dresden, called the Grossen Garten, and withdrew into the suburbs and their different works. The allies then determined on attacking the place in great force, especially as two Westphalian regiments came over to their assistance.

Napoleon had fixed upon Dresden as the grand post of all his extensive operations, and consequently made uncommon exertions to strengthen its position. When, therefore, the allies arrived, they not only found that place formidable as a fortress, but also as an entrenched camp.

At four o'clock in the evening of the 27th, the troops moved to the assault; the attack was commenced by a heavy cannonade, which, from the batteries being planted in a circular form round the town, soon enveloped it in smoke, and the troops moved forward in the most perfect and determined manner to the assault: they approached on all sides close to the town. A very strong advanced redoubt, not above sixty yards from the main wall, and flanked by cross-fires of musketry from various loop-holes made in every part of projecting buildings, was stormed and taken by the Austrians. The French retired from this fortress behind new defences, manning the thick walls of the town, in which it was impossible, without a long and continued fire of heavy artillery, to make breaches. The troops who had carried and entered the outworks were held in check by the French, with the aid of those means which a strong town affords of resistance. The night was now

fast approaching, and Napoleon was in hopes to accomplish one of those masterly manœuvres, for which he was so famous, by making a sortie with 30,000 of his veteran troops, in order to separate the allied forces, and take one way in flank and rear. This was immediately perceived by them, and as it appeared it was not practicable to carry the place that night, orders were sent to draw off the troops, and they returned to their several encampments. On the side the French made their sortie, an admirable disposition was effected by Prince Maurice of Lichtenstein, by which all disorder was avoided. In this affair, the Austrians principally suffered; their loss amounted to 4,000 men.

Napoleon, who had received considerable reinforcements, on the following morning drew out his whole army in battle array before the walls of Dresden. In his disposition for attack, he possessed great advantages. Dresden, lined with guns, was in his rear; his communications were not intersected; and if he made an impression he had the power of pursuing it, whilst in the event of a failure, he could withdraw his forces in security, and the allies could not follow him under the walls of Dresden. Nothing prevented an engagement of the most desperate and sanguinary nature, except a torrent of rain, which deluged the country to such a degree, as to render any movement almost impossible. The allies, who had arrived by rapid marches through bad roads and defiles at their positions, had a great part of their artillery sunk in the river, and could not bring it forward. Napoleon displayed an immense number of pièces of artillery; and heavy cannonading on both sides formed the chief feature of the battle.* Several

* General Moreau was in earnest conversation with the emperor Alexander in the midst of the battle, and in the act of giving his opinion on some military movements, while passing with the Emperor behind a Prussian battery, to which

desperate charges were made by the cavalry of the allies, who alone, in this state of the roads, could move with any activity.

two French batteries were answering, one in front, and the other in flank, and the British minister, Lord Cathcart, and sir Robert Wilson, were listening to him, when a ball struck his thigh, and almost carried his leg off, passed through his horse, and carried away the calf of his other leg. He uttered a deep groan, but immediately after the first agony of pain was over, spoke with the utmost tranquility, and perceiving the officers around him in the greatest distress, he observed, leaning on Colonel Rappatel, "Though I am lost, to die in so good a cause, and in the presence of the emperor Alexander, is sweet."

The horror and consternation that followed this catastrophe are indiscribable, but general Moreau, after receiving his wound, never deviated from the calm and even temper which so particularly characterized him; and indeed throughout the whole of his sufferings, he bore his fate with heroism and grandeur of mind not to be surpassed, and appeared, to those with whom he conversed, from his extreme composure and calmness, to endure but little pain. When afterwards told of the losses sustained before the capital of Saxony, General Moreau exclaimed, It is a great misfortune, but do not regard it, *pour ce coup ci c'en est fait de lui*. He was conveyed from the field on a litter made of cossacks pikes, to a cottage at a short distance, which, however, was so much exposed to the fire, that they were obliged, afterjust binding up his wounds, to remove him to Noeihlitz, where he suffered amputation below both his knees. When the first surgical operation was completed, and he understood it would be necessary to amputate the other limb, he declared, had he been previously so informed, he would have preferred dying. He, however, underwent the whole without complaining, exhibiting a deportment and countenance firm and undismayed. He afterwards partook of some refreshment.

About 7 o'clock in the evening of the amputation, he was placed in a litter formed of the body of a coach, and carried by Russian soldiers to Passendorf. He complained of extreme pains; he rested at the country-house of Mr. Tritschen grand master of forests, and there again partook of refreshment. On the 28th, at 4 in the morning, he was removed in the same manner from Panersdorf to Dippoldeswalde, and there rested in the house of a baker, named Wutz, where he took some further refreshment. An hour after, he was removed to the frontiers of Bohemia, being borne the whole of his painful journey by Russian soldiers.

In the course of this melancholy route, the unfortunate general Moreau was drenched with rain, which fell in torrents,

Throughout the day a succession of partial charges took place, the result of which was per-

with no other covering except what a few blankets afforded, which were insufficient to defend him from the inclemency of the weather, yet he sustained himself with unshaken fortitude.

His situation becoming every hour more hopeless, his surgeons at length apprised him of that event which no human skill could avert. Without giving way to despondency, he commenced dictating the following letter to the emperor Alexander.

"*To his Imperial* MAJESTY *the* EMPEROR ALEXANDER.

"SIRE,

"*I go down to the grave with those sentiments of admiration, respect, and devotedness which your Imperial Majesty inspired me from the first moment of our interview.*"

General Moreau had written thus much of what he regarded his last duty to man, when his brave spirit, at 5 minutes before 7, in the morning of 2d September, 1813, was relieved from all earthly suffering. A conference which took place at Laun between him and some of the generals on the affairs of the allied armies, and by which he was completely exhausted, accelerated his dissolution. He observed to the officers, when he felt his strength fail him, and he could no longer continue the conference, that he hoped to see them on the following morning, when they would go into the points not discussed.

The emperor Alexander, with all the benignity of his nature addressed the following letter to the disconsolate widow of general Moreau.

"MADAM,

"When the dreadful calamity which befel general Moreau, close by my side, deprived me of the talents and experience of that great man, I indulged the hope, that by care, we might still be able to preserve him to his family, and to my friendship. Providence has ordered it otherwise. He died as he lived, in the full vigour of a strong and steady mind. There is but one remedy for the great miseries of life, that of seeing them participated. In Russia, Madam, you will find those sentiments every where; and if it suit you to fix your residence there, I will do all in my power to embellish the existence of a personage of whom I make it my sacred duty to be the consolation and support.

"I entreat you, Madam, to rely upon it irrevocably, never to let me be in ignorance of any circumstance in which I can be of any use to you, and to write directly to me always. To anticipate your wishes will be a pleasure to me. The friend-

haps more favourable to the allies than to Napoleon; but these movements had unfortunately given an opportunity to general Vandamme to attack the prince of Wirtemberg, who commanded the Austrians at the strong and important position of Pirna, and to drive him from thence. The position of Pirna, forming the principal key of the entrance into Bohemia, being in the hands of the French, the situation of the allies became precarious. They perceived that if Napoleon passed a considerable body of troops across the Elbe at Koenigstein and Pirna, he would possess himself of the passes in their rear, and thus cut them off from their resources and supplies; and moreover, from any further attempts upon the fortified city of Dresden, which was defended by an army equal in point of numbers, to their own, and possessing every advantage over them in position, both for attack or retreat, would be attended with discomfiture. It was therefore determined, as the most prudent measure, to retrace their marches, and regain their former position within the Bohemian frontier. On the evening of the 28th, the orders were issued for retiring, and the army commenced its retrogade movement in different columns.

The presence of Moreau in the allied army had excited much enthusiasm throughout Europe; and

ship I vowed to your husband exists beyond the grave, and I have no means of shewing it, at least in part, towards him, than by doing any thing in my power to insure the welfare of his family.

"In these sad and cruel circumstances, accept, Madam, these marks of friendship, and the assurance of all my sentiments.

"ALEXANDER."

"Toeplitz, Sept. 6, 1813."

His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia, also issued the following orders relative to general Moreau. "That the body should be carried to Prague to be embalmed, and that from thence colonel Rappatel should convey it to St. Petersburg, and to have it buried with the same funeral honours as were observed to Prince Kutusoff Smolenzk, in the Catholic church of that city."

a fate so tragical, and untimely, produced equal sympathy and regret. Yet when we come to reflect upon his conduct, there may be room for a difference of opinion. Unjust expulsion from the political community may seem to destroy the ties by which an individual is united to it, and to absolve him from the duties of allegiance. When this injustice is exercised by a state against one to whom it has been greatly indebted, the trial to individual fortitude becomes the more severe.—Yet the general sense of mankind seems to pronounce that there is something indelible in the relations between men and the country which gave them birth, and that no wrong, no suffering, can ever efface them. Moreau professed, indeed, (and in this he was sanctioned by the declarations of the allies) to make war, not against France, but against the man who ruled it. Had the object been to change the goverment, to restore either a free constitution, or the ancient monarchy, Moreau might have had a fair ground of justification.—But the allies disclaimed any such intention; they professed no other object but to re-establish against France the ancient balance of power, and to level her vast overwhelming preponderance in the system of Europe. They were not thus perhaps doing her any real injnry, since extended conquest does by no means constitute the real happiness of nations. Yet it is not viewed in this light by mankind in general; and in the mind of a great commander it can scarcely be doubted, that with military successes the grandeur and prosperity of his country will be in a great degree identified.—The conduct of Moreau, therefore, can scarcely be vindicated by the feelings of patriotism; it can be defended only upon the principles of universal philanthropy. Such principles, however, from their vague and flexible nature, ought to be viewed with extreme suspicion, particularly when they point to some object which may afford gratification to

private ambition or resentment. There is one circumstance in the case of Moreau which, if not explained, appears extremely suspicious. He came only to bask in the sun-shine of that fortune which had attended the allied arms; for so long as the cause of Europe languished he had taken no part in it. He was not found in Spain, where the most just of causes was to be defended; not even in Russia, when that country was invaded, and in danger of being over-run. He came not till a succession of victories, and the formation of a grand confederacy, had rendered the triumph of the allied cause almost certain. All this might admit of explanation; he might not have been invited; a proper opening might not have been offered to his exertion. But some such explanation does seem necessary to account for the inactivity of his philanthropic principles, till the moment when their exertion was less necessary and less meritorious. But whatever opinion may be formed upon this subject, there cannot be the slighest doubt that the allied sovereigns were fully justified in availing themselves of the acknowledged talents of this commander, for the promotion of their own just cause. A very absurd opinion, however, was almost universal at the time,—that the success of that cause depended chiefly upon Moreau, and that Buonaparté could only be opposed by commanders trained in the same school with himself. Such an idea is totally inconsistent, not only with subsequent events which could not be then taken into account, but even with the occurrences of the preceding campaign. Buonaparté had been humbled, and the finest army he ever commanded had been annihilated, without any aid from France; and there could be no reason to suppose, that with similar means similar successes might not continue to crown the arms of the allies. The only operation at which Moreau assisted, and which, if not planned by him, received his sanction, was the attack upon Dresden; an operation which

does not reflect much credit on those with whom it originated.

On the following day a brilliant action took place on the road from Toeplitz towards Peterswalde, about two German miles from the former place, much to the advantages of the allies. A Russian column under count Ostermann, which had to retire by the pass of Osterwalde, forced the French, who had actually crossed the Elbe at Pirna and Koenigstein, had possession of the pass in the mountains, and they were obliged most gallantly to force their way through with the bayonet. They then remained in action with the enemy till late in the evening, and having been reinforced by the reserves of the Russian guards, cavalry, and infantry, the former 8,000 men, under the grand duke Constantine, who were sent rapidly to their support, held in check, during the day, two corps and one division of the French army, under generals Vandamme and Betrand, and amounting to 30,000 men. In this affair, the loss on both sides was great; that of the allies exceeded 3,000, that of the French 5,000 men. The stand made by count Ostermann was, however, of great importance to those columns of the allies which were retiring by Attenberg, and which, having been delayed by bad roads, would otherwise have been much endangered. The corps of general Kleist, which was behind the rest of the army, and which had not yet disengaged itself from the mountains, was now directed to move to the left, and occupy the pass of Hollendorf, by which alone general Vandamme could effect his retreat. General Kleist effected this movement with promptitude and success; and the French were attacked in front, flank, and rear, by forces greatly superior to theirs.

The following disposition was made by the allied troops for the attack: 6,000 Russian grenadiers, 2,000 infantry, and 4,000 cavalry, under general Miloradovitch, together with 12,000 Aus-

trians, under count Coloredo and general Bianchi, commenced the action: the remainder of the troops collected for this enterprise being formed in columns of reserve.

Upon some ground immediately fronting the village of Kulm, the French collected a strong force of infantry, with a great portion of artillery; and from this point a galling fire was incessantly kept up upon the Russians, under general Miloradovitch. Such was the strength of the heights of Kulm, and so ably had the enemy disposed of their force for its defence, that it was judged more expedient to make the principal attack by the right; in consequence of which, the Austrian infantry were directed to move along the high ground upon the right, while the Russian guards and infantry were to commence their attack upon the left so soon as the Austrians were sufficiently advanced. The Austrians, under count Colloredo, succeeded in turning the French left, the cavalry charging repeatedly; while upon the other flank general Miloradovitch, with the hussars of the guards and grenadiers, forced every front, which the French in vain attempted to defend. The action was contested in the most vigorous manner: the French at length were so completely beaten in front at all points, and intercepted in their rear by the corps under general Kleist, that nothing remained for him but a desperate and precipitate retreat, and which soon brought on a complete rout. The fruits of this victory to the allies were very great; general Vandamme, 6 other general officers, including generals Giott, Hechtox, Hauberg, and prince Reuss, who died of his wounds; 60 pieces of artillery, 10,000 prisoners, and 6 standards, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Continuation of Hostilities—Operations in the North of Germany.—Capitulation of Dantzic and Cassel.—Flight of Jerome Buonaparte.—Battle of Leipsig.—Defection of Bavaria.—Death of Prince Poniatowski.—Capture of the King of Saxony.—Departure of Napoleon for Paris.—Defeat of the Danes.—Treaty with Denmark.

THE North of Germany now became the theatre of events of great importance. The army of the Crown Prince, after the retreat of the French from Berlin, pressed close on their rear; and obtained several advantages; and finding, that the force opposed to him was by no means equal to that he commanded, determined to profit therefrom, by moving upon Leipsig with the Swedish and Russian troops, while Tauenzein was left with 4,000 Prussians at Juterboch, for the purpose of covering Berlin. The French army had been weakened by large detatchments made from it, by its commanding general, marshal Ney, which he took with him to strengthen the position of Napoleon at Dresden. On the 4th of September the head-quarters of the Prince Royal were transferred to Rabenstein but at the moment he had commenced this movement, in order to advance with the Russian and Swedish army to Roslau, with an intention of crossing the Elbe, and of taking the direction of Leipzig, he learnt that the French, after having made a demonstration of passing over to the left side, had suddenly returned into his entrenchments at Teuchel and Tragun, in advance of Wittenberg. This sudden return afforded a presumption, either that the French intended to attack the combined army of the North of Germany in their passage across the Elbe, or to make a rapid march upon Berlin. The latter was found to be their

first object. They marched upon Zahna, and attacked it on the 4th with a very superior force.

General Dobschutz, who commanded, maintained his ground with great bravery, and the French having been repulsed in several attacks, re-entered their entrenchments before Wittenberg. The following day, most murderous attacks were made, and notwithstanding the gallantry of general Dobschutz, and his corps, the French succeeded in carrying that position: the army under marshal Ney, now advanced rapidly to Juterboch, which caused the Prince Royal to alter the march of his troops, and hasten to the scene of action. The following is his Royal Highness's report of the

BATTLE OF DENNEVITZ.

"Juterboch, Sept. 8, 1813.

"The Prince Royal set out on the 6th, at three o'clock in the morning, from Rabenstein, and collected the Swedish and Russian armies upon the heights of Lobessen; he was waiting the reports of Tauenzein, whom he thought farther advanced, when he received an account from Bulow, announcing that the whole army of the enemy was in full march upon Juterboch. The Prince Royal ordered him to attack the flank and rear of the enemy, before Tauenzein, who defended the approaches of the town, should be overwhelmed by numbers.—

"The Swedes, who had been marching upwards of two German miles, proceeded to Juterboch, which was yet distant three German miles, and was followed by the Russians, with the exception of the advanced guard, under the orders of count Woronzoff, and of the corps of Tchernicheff, which continued before Wittenberg. The cannonade and musquetry began immediately between the Prussian troops and the French.—The Russian and Swedish corps, after their forced marches, were obliged to halt for a moment, in order to form in the order of battle. The Prussians, at most 40,000 men strong, sustained in the mean while, with a courage truly heroic, the repeated efforts of 70,000 of the enemy, supported by 200 pieces of cannon. The struggle was unequal and murderous. The Prussians, however, were not disconcerted even for one moment. While this was passing, 70 battalions of Russians and Swedes, 10,000 horse of both nations, and 150 pieces of artillery, advanced in columns of attack, leaving intermediate spaces for deploying; 4,000 Russian and Swedish cavalry had advanced in full speed to support some points whither the enemy principally directed his attacks; their appearance and that of the columns began to check him. The fate of the battle was

instantly decided. The enemy's army beat a retreat; the cavalry charged them with a boldness resembling fury, and carried disorder into their columns, which retreated with great precipitation upon the rout of Zahna.

The enemy's force was composed of four corps *d'armée*,—those of marshal duke of Reggio, of generals Bertrand and Regnier, and of that of the duke of Padua, and of from 3 to 4,000 Polish troops, foot and horse, the whole under the command of the prince of Moskwa. The result of this battle, which was fought near the village of Dennevitz, by the name of which it will be called, was already, yesterday morning, 5,000 prisoners, 3 standards, from 25 to 30 pieces of cannon, and upwards of 200 ammunition waggons. The field of battle, and the road over which the enemy passed, are strewed with dead and wounded, and with a quantity of arms; 5,000 of the former have already been collected. General Wobeser, who had been ordered to proceed with 5,000 men from Luckan upon Zahna, attacked in that town, where the prince of Moskwa and the Dukes of Reggio and of Padua had taken up their quarters, part of the enemy's army that intended to go to Dresden, and made 2,500 prisoners. Major Helwig, with 500 horse, advanced upon Sweinitz and Hertzberg, and attacked a column of the enemy in the night, taking 600 prisoners and 8 pieces of cannon. General O'Rourke, at the head of his cavalry, made upwards of 1000 prisoners, and took several pieces of cannon. General Regnier remained a long time exposed to the fire of our sharp-shooters, in the situation of a man desirous of death. We may estimate that the enemy has lost, up to this moment, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, from 16 to 18,000 men, more than 50 pieces of cannon, and 400 ammunition waggons; their loss in killed and woundcd must have been immense. Half of the escort of the prince of Moskwa was killed; the duke of Reggio charged the infantry of the count de Tauenzien. The loss of the Prussian troops is great, and amounts to between 4 and 5,000 men in killed and wounded. However, the results of the day ought to contribute to the consolation of every true patriot, who will find the triumph of the cause of his country insured by the death of these brave men. The Swedish and Russian troops have lost little."

Ever since the recommencement of hostilities, a blockading corps before Dantzig continued incessantly to harass the garrison night and day; the consequence of which was, that sickness began to prevail, and desertion to an uncommon extent. In the night of the 27th of August, two redoubts near Ohie, were taken from the French, with considerable loss, and razed; and on the following night a wood near Langefuhr, of no less importance, was

taken possession of. The commandant of the garrison, general Rapp, not reflecting on the impropriety of weakening his garrison in an unprofitable manner, by distant attacks, formed the extraordinary resolution to attack, on the 29th, the blockading corps with his whole garrison, which he had considerably strengthened by arming a part of the citizens; he accordingly made a furious attack on the side of Pliskendorff, but he was received with the greatest calmness, and repulsed with very considerable loss. As they advanced rashly under the cannon of the position, two battalions of Prussian landwher, and four squadrons of cavalry were sent upon their left flank, which occasioned considerable loss, and forced them to make a precipitate and disorderly retreat. When general Rapp saw that nothing was to be gained on that side, he attacked the wood which had been taken by the Russians the night before. His loss, was on this occasion still more considerable, and he was not able to gain an inch of ground. The field of battle was covered with dead bodies. The engagement extended along the whole front, under a very vigorous cannonade, which lasted from early in the morning till late at night. The attack was five times renewed from Langefuhr; but the French were always repulsed. Their loss exceeded 40 officers and 1200 killed and wounded. The Russian and Psussian troops had 313 killed. The night after this severe engagement, the French were alarmed by fresh forces, and his wearied troops were obliged to pass the night under arms.

The garrison of Dantzig continued, however, to hold out till the end of November, when, having disputed every inch of ground which could be at all advantageous, and their principal granaries and works being destroyed by them, the governor agreed to surrender by capitulation. Three corps of the French army had now experienced severe defeats, viz. those under marshals Ney and Macdonald, and under general Vandamme, and these

successes far more than compensated the allies for the advantage Napoleon had acquired, in point of position, in obliging the Austro-Russian army to retire from before Dresden. They rendered Napoleon's strength much inferior to that of the allies, and inspired the latter with a confidence of success. Moreover, by the advance of general Blucher at this period, a connection was established between the allied armies.

Napoleon, who still had his forces admirably concentrated, now made a movement into Bohemia, but finding the Austro-Russian army to be much stronger than he expected, and in an excellent position for sustaining an attack, he suddenly hastened back to the Elbe, to arrest the progress of general Blucher, who was advancing to Dresden. Profiting of this retrograde movement on the part of the French chief, the allied army again broke up from Bohemia on the evening of the 4th of September, and on the 5th made a movement in advance to Dresden. General Blucher then fell back towards the Silesian frontier, and Napoleon returned to meet the Austro-Russian army; they on his approach again fell back, and general Blucher at the same time advanced. Thus was some time expended in a succession of marches and countermarches; and as the movements of the French were necessarily, from their concentration, confined to narrow limits, great scarcity of provision and sickness began to be felt throughout that army.

During these operations on the grand theatre of the war, events equally favorable occurred to the allies on the Lower Elbe. On the 17th of August, marshal Davoust put his army in motion, marched from Hamburgh, and penetrating the line of neutrality, attacked the advanced posts of the allies on the Stecknitz. For two days he was employed to drive them from this small river, near Ruchen and Lauenburg, during which time he evacuated Lu-

beck, and with a few thousand men, made at the same time a demonstration upon Mollen. The next day, having 5,000 in a camp near Schwartzenbeck, he cautiously advanced in two columns, amounting to from 12 to 14,000 men, the one directing its march upon Lauenburg and Boitzenburg, the other upon Buchen, but moved so slowly that he hardly gained one German mile in a day. Count Walmoden engaged him at Vellalm, in order to induce him to shew his force. This affair was successful, and produced the desired effect; it continued till night, when both parties remained in their position. The next day, not wishing to come to a decisive action, he moved to Hagenow, and from thence, the following day, to the plain of Kraak, between Hagenow and Neustadt, leaving the advanced guard at the former place, in case the French should advance, that he might be enabled to judge of his force, having determined not to retreat except before much superior strength.

General Vegesack, commanding a corps of Swedish troops, not having been attacked, had made a demonstration upon Mollen, on the 21st, with 1,200 men, and on the 23d it was ascertained that the French, who on the 22d had not pressed much towards Hagenow, was moving upon Schwerin, having left the environs of Hagenow and Cammin. The enemy obtained possession of Schwerin, and thence threatened at once Stralsund and Berlin. Fortunately this position was rendered insecure from the disasters experienced by the main army, and marshal Davoust consequently fell back upon the line of the Stecknitz, which covered Holstein. Whilst in the latter position he received orders to detach reinforcements to the main army, and general Pecheux, with 6,000 men, was therefore directed to march from Hamburgh up the Elbe, to the support of Napoleon. This movement soon became known to count Walmoden, who suddenly crossed the Elbe at Domitz, and on the 16th fell in with him. He found him advantageously posted

on the heights behind Gorde. The cannonade commenced; an attack made by the tirailleurs of Lutzow and Reitche, and the well-combined movements of the columns of infantry, forced them to quit the heights and form *en masse* on the plains. At the moment the columns had got as far as the heights, the cavalry and cossacks appeared on his left flank. Notwithstanding this he made an obstinate defence, supported a very brisk combat with infantry, and repulsed several attacks of the cavalry. He was soon brought to give way by the artillery, a part of which followed close after the infantry. Being attacked by the infantry, and on several sides, he wished to hasten his retreat, and from this moment, as both the cavalry and infantry fell on them, his disorder was complete. The intervention of height and broken ground prevented the total destruction of this corps of the French. Upwards of 1,800 were made prisoners, and the field of battle was covered with the killed and wounded; 8 cannon, 12 ammunition waggons, and a great quantity of baggage fell into the hands of the allies. The general of brigade, Meilzinski, two of general Pecheux's adjutants, and upwards of 1,000 men were made prisoners. General Pecheux having lost his horse in the battle, escaped on foot, and the remainder of his division retreated in disorder on Bleckede, pursued by the cossacks under the command of general Tettenborn. The loss of the allies was 30 officers and 400 privates, killed and wounded. The British cavalry were engaged in this affair, and very much distinguished themselves. During the attack the enemy advanced with some thousand men on Boitzenberg, but without any effect. On the 17th, general count Walmoden removed his head quarters to Danneberg, to obserre that part of marshal Davoust's corps *d'armée* which had remained on the right bank of the Elbe.

Napoleon in the meanwhile, sensible of the precarious situation of his affairs, and the necessity

of making a grand attack on one of the corps of the allies while they remained separated, collected all the troops which could be spared from other quarters, and by menacing the communication of the allies with Prague, expected to force them to fall back behind the Elbe, into Bohemia. On the 8th of September, the corps under count Witgenstein, and a part of general Kleist's corps, under the orders of general Zeithen, which had advanced through the mountains beyond Peterswalde and Zehista, on the road towards Dresden, were attacked by a very superior force of the French. and a very sharp affair took place. When they began their advance, count Witgenstein had his head quarters at Pirna. The chief contest during the day, was for the village of Dohna, which the allies defended with much bravery and valour; but the French bringing up increasing numbers, towards the evening count Witgenstein determined to fall back and evacuate Dohna. General Zeithen's corps, therefore, was ordered to occupy Pirna in the evening, and count Witgenstein's corps retired towards Peterswalde. In this day's action the loss of the allies amounted, in killed and wounded, to 1,000. On the 9th, the French continued their advance, and the allies retired, fighting every inch of ground, in the mountains; and it now appearing that a very considerable army was advancing, either with a determination to make a general attack, or for the purpose of great demonstration, to cover a retrograde movement, the Austrians who had moved to Aussig and Leutmeritz, on the Elbe, were directed to countermarch, and the allies began to collect all their forces at Kulm and Toeplitz. The French pressed with greater force on the 10th, from the mountains on Kulm and towards Toeplitz; they advanced not only with the columns that followed count Witgenstein's rear, but also with another very considerable corps by Zurnwanda and Kraufen. At this time the Austrian column had not come into close commu-

nication from Aussig and Leutmeritz, and the Russian and Prussian force, in front of Toeplitz, was greatly outnumbered by the enemy. The allies, however determined, in the event of the French advancing, to give them battle, and dispositions to that effect were accordingly made. Towards evening a strong detachment of their light troops got possession of the road which leads through the pass to Altenberg, and drove in the grenadiers of the Russians nearly to the plain below; but as they made use of no cannon, and did not at the same time appear upon the Peterswalde road, there appeared no indication of a serious attack at so late an hour in the day. The allies, however, threw back their left, placing troops and guns all along the foot of a hill, between Kulm and Toeplitz, while the whole army was formed in position of two lines, having their right *appuyé* upon the mountain adjacent to the town; columns of infantry were in reserve on either flank.

In the evening of the 11th, they advanced with guns upon the high road, and above a corps of Russians, under count Pahlen, from Nollendorff nearly into Kulm. The allies, towards night, received a reinforcement of 25,000 men of the Austrian army, which wer instantly placed in position upon the extreme left, a certain distance up the mountains. These troops had marched with little interruption since the morning of the 10th, and during the whole night were in good order, and without stragglers. Every thing indicated a general attack on the 12th, but about mid-day, the French commenced a retreat from Nollendorff.

On the 15th, in the morning, they continued to retire, and prince Schwartzenberg ordered a general reconnissance on all sides to be made. The corps of count Witgenstein and count Pahlen charged a French column, and cut down several hundred men. The corps in advance, opposed to count Pahlen, consisted of 12,000 men, under ge-

neral Bonnet; they made a good stand at Gotliebe. Six Russian light corps performed great execution, and forced this column to leave their ground. An Austrian corps of 17,000 men, under count Colloredo, equally reconnoitered the enemy on the side of Barenstein and Brielenau. Their head quarters were now removed to Dippolswalde. A partizan corps, under general Thielman, took possession of Wissenfels, which was occupied by infantry and artillery, and made a general, 40 officers, and 1,300 men prisoners. On the 15th, in the evening, they brought up more troops against count Pahlen, and as it was not the intention of the allies to engage in a general affair in the mountains and defiles of Saxony, the advanced corps moved back to Nollendorff. On the 16th, they occupied the mountains and heights in front of Nollendorf, in great force. In the evening they made an attempt to turn the right of the allies before Kulm, while they also assailed the centre and left. At this affair Napoleon assisted in person. 15,000 men were detached to turn the right, 8,000 advanced in front, and on the left; about 30,000 men and 8,000 cavalry in reserve, formed the attack on the part of the French. On the 17th, the corps moving on the right of the allies, being concealed by an intense fog, and advancing through thick woods, had succeeded in gaining their flank before its movement was perceived. The Russian and Prussian forces were drove from the village of Nollendorff by very superior force, but were kept in check on the left; general Colloredo, with a corps of Austrians, fell on their advanced column, which had gained the right of the allies, and completely defeated it. Repulsed at all points, they retired into their position again on the mountains, occupying, however, Nollendorff, whilst the allies took up their old ground, and extended themselves across the plain in a semi-circular position. The loss of the allies in this affair exceeded 1000 in killed and wounded.

General Bennigsen.

On the 19th of September the French remained at their position at Peterswalde, and Napoleon slept at Pirna. On the following day, they retired still further towards Dresden, and every disposition seemed to be made for a retreat on that capital.—The object of Napoleon was evidently to avoid a general battle, a vigorous and decisive line of action was therefore the only one that the allies could pursue, to obtain the grand object they professed to have in view. The concentrated situation of Napoleon gave him a decided superiority at any point which might be urgently threatened. This the allies had perceived. The Austro-Russian army had advanced, and been repeatedly obliged to retire from before Dresden; and the Silesian army, in like manner, had advanced from the other side of the Elbe only to retreat. Thus the allies, although far superior in numerical force to the French, had not acquired any immediate or material advantage, that might be decisive of the fate of the campaign; and a general concentration of their principle forces seemed the only step which would enable them to profit by their numbers, and prevent an indefinite duration of the war, which would render its issue extremely doubtful. After serious consideration on the part of the allied commanders, it was determined that their main armies should cross the Elbe. General Benningsen, with a Russian reinforcement of 40,000, was now moving into Bohemia by his left, and rapidly advancing to Toeplitz, at which he was to be stationed, for the purpose of effectually covering Bohemia, and to observe Dresden. Marshal Blucher was to cross the Elbe above Dresden, in conjunction with the prince royal of Sweden; whilst prince Schwartzenberg, who was at Toeplitz, on being relieved by the reinforcement under general Benningsen, was to advance through Saxony, in the direction of Leipsig, and form a junction with the prince royal of Sweden, and marshal Blucher, who were moving from the opposite side. The campaign

now assumed that awful and portentous character, which the magnitude of the cause at issue—the vast forces arrayed on both sides, and the vehement passions embarked in the contest must naturally have given rise to.

On the 21st, at the break of day, two Saxon officers appeared at the Swedish advanced posts, before Worlitz, with information that a battalion, to which they belonged, would come over to the side of the allies. The prince royal of Sweden sent colonel Bjorniotierna, accompanied by some hussars, to the front of the battalion to give it a reception, when its commander, major Von Bunau, in the name of the whole battalion, the first of the King's regiment, declared that, it requested to fight under the standard of the Prince Royal, for the liberty of Germany.

Among the minor movements, we notice the gallantry of 6 Swedish gun boats under the command of captain Kruger, who cannonaded the town of Stettin, the suburb of Dauern, and the batteries which connect both these places with good effect; on the 26th of August, the guns at Dauern had been dismounted; on the 30th, the gate was broke down by cannon shot; and on the 1st of September, the fire was directed against the town itself, which soon compelled it to surrender.

General Bulow, to whom was entrusted the siege of Wittenberg, in order to draw off the attention of the garrison from the side where trenches were opened, bombarded that place from the opposite side. At two o'clock in the afternoon of the 24th, he caused the suburbs to be attacked, and which was attended with complete success. The suburbs were taken, and the enemy driven back on all points. In the night, between the 24th and 25th, the trenches were opened on the side of Luthersbrunn. The bombardment commenced on the same night, and several places were set on fire. The fire continued from 10 o'clock in the evening till five in the morning. At the same time a second parallel was opened on the side of the castle. In

the night between the 27th and 28th, the town was on fire in several places; a tower of the castle was on fire, and fell in; and exclusive of bombs which were continually played on the place, rockets were likewise used under the direction of a distinguished British officer, afterwards killed at Leipsig, captain Bogue.

The Prince-Royal now attempted to pass the Elbe at Rosilau, and part of his force had actually crossed when marshal Ney was enabled to collect such strength as to oblige his Royal Highness to retire to the other side.

An expedition under general Tchernicheff, who for the purpose of harassing the French, and cutting off his supplies, had been directed to make an inroad to Cassel, the capital of the new kingdom of Westphalia, was attended with brilliant success. In this expedition general Tchernicheff displayed the greatest military talents; and, after three actions he entered Cassel on the 30th of September, by capitulation. He marched on the 24th to Eisleben, the 25th to Rosslau, and avoiding a Westphalian corps, under the orders of general Bastineller, posted at Heilligenstadt, he made a lateral movement, passed through Sondershaussen, and arrived on the 26th, in the evening, at Muhlhaussen, Thence he marched in one day to Cassel. The king, Jerome Bonaparté, received notice of his arival only two hours before. Investing the city on every side, he ordered the cossacks and the huzzars of Izum, to attack the enemy's battalions, stationed at Bettenhaussen, with six pieces of cannon. By a brilliant charge, the guns were taken, the French dispersed, and more than 400 prisoners made. The fugitives were pursued into the city; but as the streets were barricadoed, the Russians at length fell back. Jerome collected two battalions of guards and 1,000 horse, and fled by the road leading to Frankfort. Colonel Benkendorff charged four squadrons of light horse, forming part of the escort, not one of whom

escaped; he took 250 men and 10 officers. General Tchernicheff was then apprised that general Basiineller was advancing against Cassel. He marched during the night of the 28th, upon Melzulgen, in order to meet him with his entire force. The hostile corps dispersed; no more than 20 cuirassiers, and two guns were taken. The troops that followed the King dispersed in like manner; more than 300 of them joined general Tchernicheff, and marched with him on the 30th against Cassel. He made use of the artillery captured from the enemy, and cannonaded the town. The Leipsig gate, with the cannon planted there, was carried by colonel Benkendorff. At that moment general Tchernicheff offered terms of capitulation to the general of divison, Alix. He obtained a free passage for the French and Westphalian troops, with their arms and military baggage. These troops were to be escorted by cossacks, two miles from Cassel. The city was occupied on the evening of the 30th by the Russians; and the joy of the inhabitants was beyond all description. The greater part of the Westphalian troops ranged themselves under the banners of the allies; and the concussion given to the kingdom of Westphalia was of the most violent description. In the mean time marshal Blucher advanced with the greater part of his army from the environs of Bautzen to Elster, and though he had to carry with him pontoons, he marched with such rapidity as to reach in three days the latter place. After passing the Elbe, he attacked the 4th corps of the enemy's army, commanded by general Bertrand, on the 3rd of October, near Wirtemberg, routed and drove it from all its entrenchments, and took six guns, 70 harnessed caissons, and 1000 prisoners. The moment the prince-royal of Sweden heard of the above movement of the Silesian army, his Royal Highness resolved on carrying, with the utmost expedition, the whole force under his command to cross at Rosslau and Acken.

About this period, a treaty with Bavaria was

signed, which opened new lines of communication to the south. By this treaty Bavaria not only dissolved the alliance that united her to France, but she agreed that her armies, in conjunction with Austria, should co-operate for the attainment of a general peace. This defection produced another change in the plans of Napoleon, and he determined on concentrating his forces at and near Leipsig.

The Prince-Royal now conceived that a movement of the whole allied force to the left bank of the Saale would oblige the enemy either to come to a general battle, or that it would be the most effectual mode to embarrass and harass his retreat, if he should determine on a measure which the combined movements of all the allied armies on his flanks, and on all his communications, seemed to render indispensable. The operations of the allied armies were on the grandest and most decisive scale. The Mulda, the Elster, and the Saale were passed, and the allies, by leaving their own territotries uncovered, now interposed their main strength between Buonaparté and the French dominions.

Napoleon was placed in a situation where he could no longer delay some plan of active operations. He was necessitated to quit Dresden, and it was expected that he would have concentrated his whole force upon Leipsig, and the line of the Saale, by which movement he might have intercepted the communication between two principal divisions of the allied armies, and thus have been enabled to maintain himself for a time in his new position. Instead of adopting this line of conduct, Napoleon seems to have been hurried on by a fatality which was to completely involve him in ruin. He determined to cross the Elbe, and by extending his forces along the opposite bank, from Dresden to Magdeburg, he expected to successfully push detached corps into the centre of Prussia, and even upon Berlin. But, however successful these operations might have been in the direction they were pursued, still Napoleon afforded

them time for the allied armies to unite themselves in his rear, and with an immense concentrated force to crush his inferior numbers in every action that could follow material to the main object of the war. He having arranged his plan of operations, on the 7th of October set out from Dresden, preceded by the greater part of his army, and directed his march upon Wittenberg, and the bridges by which the Swedish and Prussian army had crossed. He seized upon Dessau, the works and bridge of Rosslau, detached two corps of his army upon Wittenberg, and caused general Thumen, who commanded the blockade of the fortress, to be attacked. That general, after a valiant defence, fell back upon the corps of general Tauenzien, who, with his small army of 10,000 men, was driven back precipitately upon Berlin, and the utmost alarm seized that capital. The French immediately marched upon Rosslau, and attacked general Tauenzien, who, in conformity to his instructions, made a retrogade movement to cover Berlin. The French moved upon Acken, with the design of destroying the bridge. The allied troops posted on the right bank, defended the approaches of certain batteries scarcely completed, but were, at length, forced to return to the left bank of the river, carrying with them some boats that composed the bridge. The Prince-Royal and marshal Blucher perceived the necessity of making a change in their plan of operations, although the unexpected movements of Napoleon could not, to any extent, seriously affect the issue of the cause. On the 13th, the army of the prince-royal of Sweden re-crossed the Saale, and moved upon Cothen, with the design of following the march of the French army, and of attacking it. Intelligence had been received that the 4th and 7th corps of the 2d corps of cavalry, were upon the right bank of the Elbe, the 11th corps at Wittenberg, the 3d at Dessau, and the old and young guards at Duben. The duke of Ragusa was at Delitzsch. The French the same evening

attacked the town of Acken. The division of the prince of Hesse Hombourg moved in that direction; but general Hirschfeldt had already succeeded in repulsing that part of the 3d French corps which had made the attack.

On the 14th, marshal Blucher moved his headquarters to Gros Kugal, pushing his advance on the great road to Leipsig, and occupying the villages on each side of it. The French was in force in his front, still holding Deblitsch and Bitterfield, with some troops along the Mulda. The prince-royal of Sweden issued orders to march to Halle in the night of the 14th, but when his troops were in march, he took up his head quarters at Sylbitz, and placed the Swedish army with its right at Wetten, and the left near Petersberg. General Bulow occupied the centre of his line between Petersberg and Oppin, and the corps of Winzingerode was on the left at Zorbig. Marshal Blucher found the French forces, consisting of the 4th, 6th, and 7th corps, and great part of the guard, under marshals Marmont and Ney, and general Bertrand, occupying a line with their right at Freyroda, and their left at Lindenthal. The country is open, and very favorable for cavalry, around these latter villages; but the French was posted strong in front of a wood of some extent, near Radefield, and behind it the ground is more intersected; generally speaking, however, it is open, and adapted to all arms

The French soon after the first onset, gave up the advanced villages, and retired some distance, but tenaciously held the woody ground on their right, and the villages of Gros and Klein Wetteritz, as also the villages of Mockern and Mokau, on their left. At Mockern a most bloody contest ensued; it was taken and re-taken by the corps of general D'Yorck five times: the musketry fire was most galling, and this was the hottest part of the field; many of the superior officers were either

killed or wounded; at length the victorious Silesians carried all before them, and drove the enemy beyond the Partha. In the plain there were many brilliant charges of cavalry. The Brandenburg regiment of huzzars distinguished itself in a particular manner, and supported by infantry, charged a battery of eight pieces, which they carried. The French made an obstinate resistance also on their right, in the villages of Great and Little Wetteritz and Ilchausen, and in the woody ground around them; and when they found the allies had forced their left, they brought an additional number of troops on count Langeron, who was chiefly engaged with marshal Ney's corps, which arrived from the neighbourhood of Duben. The Russians made the most gallant efforts, and success attended their arms. The French lost in this battle 40 pieces of cannon, with 12,000 wounded and prisoners; whilst the Silesian army sustained a loss of from 6 to 7,000 killed and wounded. On the same day, the 16th, a simultaneous attack was made on the other side by the grand army, in the neighbourhood of Wachan Liebert Valkowitz. The Russians began by storming two solitary buildings which the French had occupied with several battalions of infantry, and which formed nearly the centre of the French position, and after several repulses, the Russians carried them with amazing carnage. The whole of the French cavalry, under general Murat, were then brought forward: they made a very desperate push at the centre of the allied position, which for a short period they succeeded in forcing. To oppose this powerful cavalry, 6 regiments of Austrian cuirassiers charged in columns. Nothing could surpass either the skill or the desperate bravery of this movement; they overthrew all before them, destroying whole regiments, and returned to their ground with many prisoners, having left 700 dragoons within the French line. Many officers were killed and wounded.—General Latour Maubourg, who commanded the

enemy's cavalry under general Murat, lost his leg. Both armies remained nearly on the ground on which the contest commenced.

The following day, the 17th, was spent in preparations for a more general and decisive contest. Buonapaté had been made acquainted with the defection of Bavaria, and early in the morning proposed, by a flag of truce, to withraw all his garrison from the Oder aud the Elbe, and to take up a position in the Thuringian forests, there to negociate a general peace. The allies refused to listen to this proposition; the time appeared at hand when they might, by a grand blow, give a lasting peace to Europe, by the complete overthrow of their inveterate enemy.

As the allies expected reinforcements, they wished to postpone the attack till the following day; this then was the moment when Buonaparté should have either made a vigorous attack, or have essayed to retreat; and both might have been attempted with a greater probability of success than when the allies should have gained additional strength. He, however, directed some trifling changes in the disposition of his army, and drew the whole closer around Leipsig. That part of his army which was at Liebert Walkowitz, and Wachau, he made retire into the interior line of Counewitz, Prolistheyda, and Sterteritz, whilst on the opposite side, the north, he withdrew his forces behind the river Partha, which afforded an advantageous line of defence; but the most important object he accomplished this day, was the making an opening through the allied line along the Saale, in the direetion of Weissenfels, by which he secured to himself a retreat, and cut off the communication between the two opposite armies. This was the principal object the French Chief could desire in his present situation, as he had both neglected to bring his enemy to an action on this day, and to retreat.

On the following day the allies had received all their reinforcements, and they determined by a

grand and combined attack, to bring the campaign to a crisis. The plan for the attack was as follows:—While the grand army was to commence their attack from their different points of assembly, on the principal villages situated on the great roads leading to Leipsig, the armies of the North and Silesia were jointly to attack from the line of Saale, and upon the enemy's position along the Partha river. Marshal Blucher gave to the prince-royal of Sweden 30,000 men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, of his army, and with this formidable reinforcement, the Northern army was to attack from the heights of Torchau, while Blucher was to retain his position before Leipsig, and use his utmost effort to gain possession of the place. In the event of the whole of the French forces being carried against either of the armies, they were reciprocally to support each other, and concert further movements; that part of the French force which for some time had been opposed to the Prince-Royal and Blucher, had taken up a very good position upon the left bank of the Partha, having its right at the strong point of Taucha, and its left towards Leipsig. To force the French's right, and obtain possession of the heights of Taucha, was the first operation of the Prince-Royal's army. The corps of Russians under general Winzingerode, and the Prussians under general Bulow, were destined for this purpose, and the Swedish army were directed to force the passage of the river at Plosen and Mockau. Bulow's corps and Winzingerode's cavalry, which formed the extreme left, proceeded upon Taucha. The Russian army, whose advanced guard was commanded by count Woronzorff, forded the stream near Grasdorff. The Swedish army passed between that place and Plaussig. Already, on the preceding evening, Winzingerode had caused Taucha to be occupied, and took in that place 3 officers and 400 men. The French, however, perceiving all the importance of that point, had dislodged the cossacks, and occupied

the village in considerable force. General Baron Pahlen, bravely supported by a colonel Arnoldi, of the horse artillery, who lost a leg on this occasion, made a brilliant charge, seized the village, surrounded two Saxon battalions that were there, and made them prisoners. The cavalry then advanced, and effected a junction with the advanced guard of count Niepperg, forming part of an Austrian division, commanded by count Bubna, belonging to Benningsen's army. General count Platoff arrived at the same time with his cossacks, and a few moments after, the Grand duke Constantine, who communicated to the Prince-Royal the movements of the grand army. The French, who had abandoned the village of Paunsdorff, vigorously attacked it again with infantry and several batteries. General Bulow's corps, which just came up, was directed to attack that village, and that officer carried it in the most gallant manner. The French was also driven from the villages of Sonnerfeldt and Schonfeldt, which they had occupied for the purpose of covering their retreat when they fell back from Taucha. A large body of Westphalian and Saxon troops, the latter bringing with them 22 pieces of artillery, now came over to the Prince-Royal, and accepted the invitation of his Royal Highness, who offered to head them as they turned their guns against the French.

On the side of the grand army, the French offered the most desperate resistance. At Probsthayda, Stelleritz, and Connevits, the contest was maintained on both sides with equal vigour, but the different columns of the allies bearing on those points, finally succeeded and carried every thing before them. General Benningsen taking the villages upon the right bank of the Reutschorr, having been joined by general Bubna from Dresden, general Tolstoy having come up and relieved the former in the blockade of that city, and general Giulay manœuvering with 75,000 Austrians upon

the left bank of the Elster, whilst the corps under general Thielman and prince Maurice Lichtenstein moved upon the same river. The allied forces now bearing in from all points, carried every thing before them, and a junction with the Prince-Royal's army having been formed, towards evening the united forces established themselves almost beneath the walls of Leipsig. The Prince-Royal bivouacked at Paunsdorff, Blucher at Wittentz, and the emperor of Russia and king of Prussia at Roda. About the close of the day it was understood that the French were retiring by Weissenfels and Naumberg, and Blucher was therefore directed by the king of Prussia to detach in that direction. The movement of the Prince-Royal's army completely excluded the retreat on Wittenberg, that upon Erfurt had been long since lost to the enemy, and the line of the Saale alone remained. Towards the close of the day, prince Schwartzenberg observing that the defeat of the French was complete, felt anxious to convey the tidings himself to his sovereign, who, together with the emperor of Russia, and the king of Prussia, were stationed upon a height about two miles from the field of battle. The field-marshal galloped up at full speed, and saluting the Emperor with his sword, said, "Your Majesty, the battle is at an end! the enemy is beaten at all points!—they fly!—the victory is ours!!" The Emperor raised his eyes to heaven, and a tear was his only answer: but his Majesty dismounting, and having deposited his hat and sword on the ground, fell on his knees, and aloud returned thanks to God. This example was followed by the other two monarchs, who having also kneeled, said—"Brother, the Lord is with you!" At the same instant, all the officers in attendance, as well as the guard kneeled down, and for several minutes a dead silence reigned; after which more than a hundred voices cried out, "The Lord is with us." The sight of three crowned heads, accompanied by a great number

of distinguished warriors, kneeling under the canopy of heaven, and with tears, praising the God of battles, was most affecting.

Napoleon, surrounded by a numerous and victorious enemy, with all his fortified lines captured, his troops disheartened by repeated disasters, and incredibly diminished in numbers, perceived that only an immediate and desperate retreat could save the remainder, and this he therefore put in practice; although he boasted in his bulletin "that the field of battle remained entirely in his power, and the French army was victorious in the field of Leipsig as they had in those of Wachau." His whole army began to defile by the road leading to Weissenfels, but here obstacles in every shape, presented themselves. Five rivers, running parallel and close to each other, and requiring bridges over each, formed a long and narrow defile, through which it was with difficulty his army could proceed, even slowly, and at day-break only part of his troops had reached the other side.—Napoleon, however, counted upon the presence of the Saxon Electoral family, and the solicitations of the inhabitants to preserve the city, to gain time to provide for his own security; but he was disappointed.

The emperor Alexander received a flag of truce, sent in the name of the King of Saxony, offering to capitulate to save the town. His Imperial Majesty gave his answer aloud, in the hearing of many hundred officers, with remarkable force and dignity: he said, "that an army in pursuit of a flying enemy, and in the hour of victory, could not be stopped a moment by considerations of the town; that therefore, the gates must be immediately opened, and in that case, the most strict discipline should be observed; that if the German troops in the place chose to join their countrymen in his army, they should be received as brothers: but he considered any proposal sent while Napoleon was at hand, as extremely suspicious, as he

well knew the enemy he had to deal with; that as to the King of Savony, personally, who had taken a line of determined hostility, he gave no answer, and declined making any communication." It being determined that no respite should be allowed to the vanquished enemy, early in the morning of the 19th, the allied forces moved on to the attack of the city. The Prince-Royal directed Bulow to carry, on his side, the place; and the latter instructed the prince of Hesse Homburg to commence the attack, whilst a division under general Borstell was to support it. The gate was protected by a pallisade, and the walls were loop-holed, notwithstanding which, the troops forced their way into the streets, when the prince of Hesse Homburg was wounded by a ball. The enemy having occupied all the houses, the conflict became very violent, and remained undecided for some time. A re-inforcement of six Swedish battalions now came up, and such of the enemy as did not surrender in this quarter, were put to the sword. The advanced guards of the army of Silesia and of general Benningsen entered Leipsig almost at the same time as the Prince-Royal, through the other gates of the city, and the emperor of Russia, king of Prussia, and the Prince-Royal, met in the great square, amidst the joyful acclamations of their armies and the people. Never could a sight be more striking and awful—half a million of soldiers had been engaged in the most sanguinary battle of Leipsig—but it had proved decisive of the fate of the campaign, and of the fate of Germany.

Napoleon fled from Leipsig at nine o'clock in the morning, leaving behind him a large part of his army, and on the allies entering the city, they were joined by all the remaining Saxon and other German troops in the pay of France. Napoleon employed, in vain, every effort to persuade the King of Saxony to accompany him in his retreat, and would not quit him till he had been twice informed that the allies had forced the gates of the

city. As Napoleon was obliged to make his retreat by the defiles of Pleisee, the baggage, cannon, and troops, soon choaked up the narrow passes, and the greatest confusion prevailed. None thought but of making their own escape, numbers threw themselves into the river, and attempted to escape by swimming, but the principal part of the latter perished. The loss of the French in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to 60,000. The whole rear-guard of the French army, including some of its most distinguished generals, fell into the hands of the allies. Among the prisoners were generals Regnier, Brune, Vallery, Bertrand, and Lauriston, Marshal Macdonald with difficulty reached, by swimming, the opposite bank: but a gallant officer, Prince Poniatowski*,

* Prince Joseph Poniatowski was nephew to Stanislaus Augustus, the last king of Poland.

On the 19th of October, when the French army began to retreat, the Prince was charged by Napoleon with the defence of that part of the suburbs of Leipsig which is nearest to the Berna road. For this service he had only 2,000 Polish infantry assigned him. Perceiving the French columns on his flank in full retreat, and the bridge completely choaked up with their artillery and carriages, so that there was no possibility of getting over it, he drew his sabre, and turning to the officers who were about him, "Gentlemen," said he, "it is better to fall with honour," With these words, he marched at the head of a few Polish cuirassiers and the officers surrounding him, upon the advancing columns of the allies. He had been previously wounded on the 14th and 16th, and on this occasion also received a musket ball in his left arm. He nevertheless pushed forwards, but found the suburbs full of the allied troops, who hastened up to take him prisoner. He cut his way through them, received another wound through his cross, threw himself into the Pleisse, and with the assistance of his officers, reached the opposite bank in safety, leaving his horse behind in the river. Though much exhausted, he mounted another, and proceeded to the Elster, which was already lined by Saxon and Prussian riflemen. Seeing them coming upon him on all sides, he plunged into the river and instantly sunk, together with his horse. Several officers, who threw themselves in after him, were likewise drowned, and others were taken at the bank or in the water. The body of the Prince was found on the 5th day (October 24th), and

in endeavouring to do the same, sunk, and was rowned. The King of Saxony and all his court were included among the prisoners, and that monarch, on account of the injury the cause had sustained from his joining his arms to those of Napoleon, was sent under a guard, as a state-prisoner, to the castle of Eysenach.

The emperors of Austria and Russia, in consideration of the services of prince Schwartzenberg, conferred on him, the day after the capture of Leipsig, the first class of the orders of St. George and Maria Theresa, and the king of Prussia the order of the Black Eagle. The latter also nominated general Blucher to the rank of field-marshal; and the Prince Royal of Sweden conferred on lieutenant-general Sir Charles Stewart the honours of a Grand Cross, and commander of the Royal Military order of the Sword.

General St. Cyr, after the disastrous battles of Leipsig, threw himself with from 20 to 30,000 men into Dresden, where he was besieged; but on finding it was impossible for Buonaparté to dispatch any force to his relief, he proposed to capitulate, on condition that he and his troops should be sent back to France, which was consented to by the besieging general. Prince Schwartzenberg, on being informed of this proposition, refused to ratify it, and directed that the French general and his troops should be replaced in Dresden, as nearly as possible with the same advantages that they possessed when they proposed to surrender; and that in case of refusal, they should be considered

taken out of the water by a fisherman. He had on his gala uniform, the epaulettes of which were studded with diamonds, and his pockets contained snuff boxes of great value, and other trinkets. Many of these articles were eagerly purchased by the Polish officers, who were made prisoners, evidently for the purpose of transmitting them to his family; so that the whole produced the fisherman a very considerable sum. His funeral obsequies were performed on the 13th of November, in the church of the Holy Cross, at Warsaw, in the presence of the most distinguished Russian and Polish families in that city.

as prisoners of war, and marched into Russia.—General St. Cyr and his army were therefore made prisoners of war.

Thirty-three thousand, seven hundred and forty-two men, and 117 pieces of cannon, were taken at Dresden. The shattered remnants of the French army continued to retreat by forced marches, and in the greatest possible disorder, followed by the main bodies of the allies, and having large corps of troops advanced before him. The grand and important advantages of the battle of Leipsig were closely followed up by the allies; and their vigorous pursuit of the French army rendered their retreat to the Rhine not much less calamitous than that from Moscow.

On the 20th of October, the following dispositions were made by the allies. The grand army under prince Schwartzenberg was to march upon the enemy's right, in the direction of Frankfort upon the Maine, taking the route of Pegau, Zeist, and Ersenberg. The army of general Benningsen, united to the army of the north, and under the orders of the Prince Royal of Sweden, was to follow the enemy's centre, in the direction of Lutzen and Mersberg, whilst the army of Silesia pursued the enemy in the direction of Mersberg. The intended movement of the main body of the Prince Royal's army, was, however, arrested; and for the following reasons, his Royal Highness was induced to direct his operations towards Hanover and the north.

Marshal Davoust, prince of Eckmuhl, who was still in position on the right bank of the Elbe, and who was unwilling to separate from the Danes, so long as he could retain his hold, had opposed to him the corps of lieutenant-general count Walmoden, which was not of sufficient force to act offensively without immediate aid. The extermination of the French in the north of Germany; the possession of Bremen, the mouths of the We-

ser and the Elbe; the speedy reduction of Hamburg; the advantage of opening an immediate communication with England during the winter; the liberation of His Majesty's electoral dominions, and the organization of its civil and military power; the facility that would be afforded to the future operations of the northern army, either in Holland or on the Rhine, when their rear should become entirely secure; and lastly, the hope of cutting off marshal Davoust completly from Holland, were the united considerations which determined his Royal Highness to alter his propbsed movement, and the army of the North marched for Bremen and Hanover, from whence it was to be directed against the remaining forces of the enemy in the north of Germany. The Prince Royal transferred his head-quarters from Mulhausen to Dingelstadt on the 29th, on the 30th to Heiligenstadt, and on the 1st of November to Gottingen.

Buonaparté continued to experience heavy losses both in men, artillery, and baggage, whilst he pursued his course from Leipsig to the Maine. The king of Bavaria since his defection to the arms of Napoleon, shewed every disposition to repair, by great exertions, his former error in aiding the ambitious views of the French Ruler.—General Wrede with the Bavarian troops, by uncommon forced marches, succeeded in reaching the Maine before the French army, and on the 21st of October arrived before Wurtzburg; which had been declared by general Turreau in a state of siege on the 22d. General Wrede summoned the town, and on a refusal of terms, bombarded it for an hour, when a second summons was sent in: and, on a refusal, the bombardment recommenced and continued for an hour, until half past 12 at night. On the 25th, the town was again summoned and without effect; but on the following day, the 26th, a capitulation was agreed upon, and

the allies entered it at four in the evening of the same day.

After gaining possession of Wurtzburg, he took up a position in advance of Hanau, by which the French army had to pass, marshal Blucher, however, who expected that Buonaparté would cross the Rhine at Coblentz, instead of by Hanau, pursued the route of the former, and thus the Bavarians were left alone to oppose the remaining French force, which, however, was in point of numbers nearly treble their own.

The Bavarian army under general Wrede, amounted to about 30,000 men, that of the French was computed at from 70, to 80,000; nevertheless, with this inferiority of force, general Wrede determined to oppose the enemy, and for two days he maintained a glorious contest. Although they suffered severely in the battle of Hanau, still the Bavarians sustained no decisive defeat. General Wrede received a severe wound, and great numbers of this little corps fell in the unequal contest.

The allies followed up, in every direction, the advantages they had acquired at the battles of Leipsig. When arrived at the right bank of the Rhine, the diet of the Swiss cantons announced their intention of maintaining a strict neutrality; this they refused to listen to; and the grand army traversed Switzerland, observing the strictest decorum on their march, and crossed the Rhine, unmolested, at Basle, on the 21st of December, 1813.

Napoleon arrived at Paris on the 9th of December, and met the Legislative Assembly on the 19th. In his address to them he alluded to the recent offers of the allies to treat with him, and to the existing state of France, "Negociations have been entered into with the allied powers," said he; "I have adhered to the preliminary basis which they presented. I had then the hope that before the opening of this session, the congress of Manheim

would be assembled; but *new delays*, which are not to be ascribed to France, have deferred this moment, which the wishes of the world eagerly call for."—There was much obscurity in the above allusion. While Napoleon was at Dresden, and after Austria had declared against him, some overtures were understood to have been made, which he rejected. These overtures proceeded upon the basis, that all the Prussian fortresses should be evacuated, and that the French should retire behind the Rhine, before the assembling of a congress for peace. But after they had been beaten across the Rhine, he offered to treat upon the same basis as before; the offer was, of course, rejected, by the allies —This was the negociation with the allies to which he alluded—this the basis to which he said he had adhered. He expected that his adherence would lead to a congress, which he proposed should be held at Manheim, in the electorate of Baden, the only district of Germany which still remained attached to him. It was evident, however, that the hopes which he entertained from a congress were become less confident, or had entirely vanished. He spoke of *new delays*, which could not be ascribed to him; he was anxious to throw the obstacles to the re-establishment of peace upon the allies. "On *my* side," said he, "there is no obstacle."—But he accompanied these expressions about peace with a demand for numerous levies, and an increase of taxes.—Italy, at all events, may be remarked, would have been an obstacle *in limine*, not only to peace but to negociation: for in a letter from Buonaparté, dated the 16th of November, to the duke of Lodi, he declared that he would not, *under any circumstances*, abandon his people of Italy.

The secrets of the *previous* negociations to which Buonaparté alluded, have never yet, indeed, been fully explained to the world. It was generally known, however, that during the armistice, and even subsequently to it, different proposals and

projects were submitted to him through the medium of the Emperor of Austria, who, although he had assumed the attitude of a belligerent, still wished to act as a mediator. Before he joined the allies, he submitted the following as a basis of negociation; the cession to himself of the Illyrian provinces and of Venice; the erection of Dantzic into a free city, and the evacuation, as already mentioned, of the Prussian fortresses. This proposal having been rejected, Austria joined the allies.—The course of events induced Napoleon to do that by compulsion which he had refused to do from choice; and he was driven across the Rhine. A few days after he arrived at Metz, an officer was dispatched to Frankfort with a declaration of his readiness to open a negociation upon the preliminary basis which had been formerly proposed. In the altered situation of affairs the allies rejected this overture; but in their turn they are said to have made offers to him, to which they alluded in general terms in their declaration, namely, to leave France more powerful than she had ever been under her kings. In reply to this, Napoleon is said to have consented to the independence of Germany and of the peninsula—a mighty concession from him who had no longer a foot of ground in those countries. This proposal was answered by a declaration on the part of the allied sovereigns, that the French empire must be bounded on the side of Italy by the Alps. To this Napoleon would not accede.

The project of making peace with France, even on such terms, gave great offence in England.—It was justly remarked that by peace, France would gain every thing. She would have restored to her at least 300,000 of her best troops—one half of her best officers—and seamen sufficient, in numbers, to man 50 sail of the line. The obstinacy of Napoleon had thrown away the military means of France. Never again might Europe expect to find her so much reduced in her armies, so

exhausted in her finances; never again could Europe expect to see a more formidable military force opposed to the ambition of this power.—The crisis was great; it was in favour of the allies, not only beyond expectation, but beyond example; and if they did not reap the full advantage of it, they might soon have cause to repent their folly. In six months after peace, France might have 50 sail of the line, well manned, and an army of half a million men, commanded by a great military genius. One victory might give him possession of Vienna, and Europe might be replunged into all the difficulties against which it was now in her power to erect an effectual barrier. This barrier might be found in the confinement of France to her ancient limits, as existed in 1789. Even those limits had been found scarcely compatible with the balance of power in Europe; and shall we, it was asked, extend them now that we have it in our power to lay the foundations of a better and wiser system of policy?

That Napoleon had not any serious intention of concluding such a peace as the allies could prudently accept, was manifest from a passage in the speech of M. St. Jean D'Angely, his favourite orator, who was appointed to explain his views, "Less powerful, less strong, less rich, less fruitful was France in the year eight, when, threatened on the north, invaded on the south, torn to pieces in the interior, exhausted in her finances, disorganized in her administration, discouraged in her armies, the seas brought her hope, the victory of Marengo restored her honours, and *the treaty of Luneville brought back peace to her.*"—Now, if France was more powerful at the close of 1813, than she was in the year 1801, the inference was obvious,—that she might insist upon being placed in a better situation than she was by the peace of Luneville. If France, with inferior means, in 1801, was able to dictate the terms of peace, with greater means she would demand bet-

ter conditions. In what situation did that peace place her? Absolute mistress of the Netherlands, the Frickthal, and of Italy, with the exception of the city of Venice, which was reserved for Austria. Napoleon thus announced by one of his agents, that he would not hear of any proposition which should reduce him to the position in which he stood at the peace of Luneville; that he would not be contented with Italy and the Netherlands alone. He understood, of course, that more than this was meant by the proposal of the sovereigns, to confirm to the French empire an extent of territory "which France under her kings never knew." —No reasonable man could any longer question the policy which demanded a continuance of the war till Napoleon and his adherents should be brought to a just sense of their condition; and a sure basis should be laid, in their entire discomfiture and humiliation, for the future repose of the world.

Whilst the routed French army was vigorously pursued to the Rhine, the Prince Royal of Sweden carried on operations against the Danes and marshal Davoust's corps. On the 4th of December, all the corps of the Prince Royal's army moved forward; and on their crossing the Strecknitz, marshal Davoust precipitately retired upon Hamburg, leaving the right wing of the Danish forces, which was posted at Odeslohe, quite exposed. The French marshal was pursued by general Woronzoff, who moved beyond Bergedorff, and defeated the whole French cavalry in a sanguinary engagement at Wandsbeck. General Walmoden marched direct upon Odenslohe. Marshal Stedink manœuvered upon Lubeck, and baron de Tettenborn, with his light troops, pushed into the interior of Holstein by Trettau, and hung on the flanks and rear of the French cavalry. From the first day, the last named officer cut off all communication between the French and the Danes, and took from

the latter a considerable number of prisoners, carriages, and ammunition waggons, and likewise intercepted some important dispatches. Prince Frederick of Hesse, commanding the Danish corps, did not hold out against all these combined movements but commenced a precipitate retreat on the Eyder. Lubeck was evacuated by the Danes, who were defeated on the 7th of December, by the Swedes, and vigorously pursued by Walmoden, when an obstinate engagement ensued with a part of his troops against the whole Danish army. The action was well contested, and the Danes were finally obliged to retire to Rensberg. The communication between Dornberg, (who had been detached upon the right bank of the Eyder) and Walmoden being temporarily cut off, and the enemy having been momentarily reinforced at Schleswig by four battalions, a regiment of cavalry, and 10 pieces of cannon, arrived from the interior of the country; the critical position of Dornberg obliged de Tettenborn to direct his operations towards Schleswig, which place he was preparing to attack in case the enemy did not accept a summons he had sent him to evacuate the place, when intelligence arrived of an armistice having been concluded with the Danes, by the mediation of Austria. The obstinacy of Denmark, however, occasioned a revival of hostilities. In the course of three days, the whole duchy of Schleswick was taken possession of by the light troops under Tettenborn, after having, in conjunction with Dornberg, so completely invested the fortress of Rensberg, that neither the garrison, nor even the cavalry belonging to it, could find an opportunity of making a sally, for which orders had been given, on account of the scarcity reigning in the town. The list of conquests made by the Prince Royal's army every day increased. Holstein was conquered, Schleswick overrun, and de Tettenborn had established his head-quarters within a mile or two of Colding, when the king of Denmark was forced to sue for

peace on such terms as the allies should think fit to dictate.

On the 14th of January, a treaty was signed between Denmark, Sweden, and Great Britain, by which the former agreed to accept Swedish Pomerania in lieu of Norway: and in consideration of a subsidy of £400,000 from Great Britain, to furnish 10,000 men to co-operate with the allies.

The people of Holland, who had so long been oppressed by Buonaparté, towards the close of this year, 1813, set the example of liberating themselves from their oppressors: and drained as they had been of French troops, to pursue the war in Germany, they, without difficulty, re-established a monarchial government. But the interesting events that led to this important change, we must defer to the next chapter.

Such was the termination of this succession of combats; the annals of Europe, ensanguined as they are, had never yet presented any thing on so grand a scale. Famine and pestilence, which follow in the train of war, did their part, and co-operated with the sword in the work of death. The retreat of Buonaparté was such as might have been expected; a powerful army was behind, and clouds of light troops were far advanced before him. A daily loss of artillery, baggage, and prisoners, marked his course from the Saale to the Maine. All hope of making head against the allies in Germany, on the Rhine, or even on the French side of it, seemed chimerical. Buonaparté had never before been in a dilemma like the present.—When he witnessed the destruction of his fleet at the battle of the Nile, his retreat, indeed, was cut off from a field of ambition, on which he had rashly entered;—when he was beaten before the walls of Jaffa, his way to Egypt was still open, and he escaped without interruption;—when he slept amid the ashes of Moscow, although the visions of glory which led him thither, deserted his pillow, he dreamt not of the withering blasts which were

to cut off his army in its return. Amid all these calamities, his spirit never forsook him; but the perils of his present situation were manifested in all their appalling aggravation. A victorious army was already in the soul of his no longer "SACRED FRANCE;" his army in Germany was nearly annihilated; and the conquerors were ready on all sides to bear her down.

CHAP. XL.

Holland.—Causes and Progress of the Revolution,—Restoration of the Prince of Orange.—His Proclamation.—Observations.

THE rapid advance of the allied armies in the autumn of she year 1813, and the panic which seized the French authorities in Holland, must undoubtedly be considered as the immediate causes of the late revolution. But the eagerness with which the Dutch people seized the opportunity thus afforded them of restoring the prince of Orange, and the union of formerly discordant parties in his favour, must be traced to more distant sources, and will be found chiefly in the evils which Holland had endured in the course of the preceding 19 years, and which united all parties in opposition to the influence of France.

The misfortunes to which the Dutch had been exposed by their connection, with France were severe almost beyond example. Before the union of Holland with the French empire, all that part of the territory of the United Provinces, which is situated beyond the Waal, had been ceded to France. The kingdom of Holland consisted of the departments of the Zuyder Zee, the mouths of the Maeze, the Upper Yssel, the mouths of the Yssel, Frizeland, and western and eastern Ems; and the population of the whole did not exceed 1,800,000 souls. When Louis Buonoparté abdicated his throne, he left a regular army and a navy, composed of 18,000 men, who were immediately taken into the service of France; and in the course of three years and a half, their numbers were increased to 49,920, by the operation of the French naval and military code. Thus about a thirty-sixth part of the whole population was employed in arms. The persons included in the maritime conscription were entirely employed in the navy; the "national guards," a branch of the mi-

litary force, were always on service, and were generally employed to guard the naval establishment, and to perform garrison duty,—they were composed of those persons who were exempted from the conscription. The "cohorts" as they were called, were by law, liable to serve only in the interior of the French empire, which extended from Hamburgh to Rome; but, after the Russian campaign, even this limitation was disregarded, and the French and Dutch cohorts formed a principal part of Napoleon's army at the battle of Bautzen.

The law respecting the ordinary conscription proceeded upon this principle,—that every male of a certain age was absolutely at the disposal of the state. The age fixed upon was a little under or above 20 years, regulated in such a manner, that every youth, who had entered his twentieth year, at any time in the calendar year preceding that of the conscription, was liable to be drawn. On an appointed day in the spring of every year, all those who were liable to that year's conscription were required to appear before the proper officers in their respactive parishes. Those who were by law exempted from military service, were placed at the *depôt*, and considered as at the disposal of government, in cases of emergency. The remainder proceeded to ballot, and the contingent was taken from those who drew the lowest numbers. The surplus was called the "reserve;" and the individuals composing it escaped for the present, but were still liable to be called upon. They were not permitted to go out of the department without an express permission from the government. It has been calculated, that on an average, nearly one-half of the male population, of the age of 20 years, was annually claimed by the conscription. Escape by flight was hardly ever attempted; for, if a young man quitted his country, to avoid the conscription, his nearest relation, or guardian, was condemned to heavy fines,

and sometimes to imprisonment. Very few exemptions were allowed under this rigorous system, except to those who procured substitutes or deputies *(remplacants)*. A substitute was one, who having drawn a high number in the ballot, on that account belonged to the reserve, but by taking the place of one who had drawn a low number was called into immediate service. A "*remplacant*," or deputy, was one who, being entirely exempted from the conscription, agreed, nevertheless, to serve in the place of a conscript. The exemption thus procured, however, were not secure or complete. Those who had obtained substitutes still belonged to the reserve; and if a deputy deserted within two years after his arrival at the *depôt*, his principal was obliged to replace him, either by serving in person or by procuring another deputy, whom he was bound to convey and guard, at his own expence, to the *depôt* to which the deserter belonged; but the principal was still liable to be called upon to serve in the burgher guard, and might be chosen a member of the Emperor's guard of honour, which the French government avowedly composed as much as possible of those who had provided deputies for service under the conscription. The most fortunate event which could occur for the principal was, that his deputy should be killed or taken prisoner, since he thus escaped all military service, except as a member of the guard of honour.

The price of a deputy was subject to variations, arising partly from the difference of the services to which the French troops were exposed, and partly from the number of conscripts required for the year. Sometimes it amounted to so much as £800. sterling; but the ordinary price in Holland may be taken at 3000 florins, or about £300 sterling. The expense, however, did not occasion the only difficulty in providing deputies. It was required, that each deputy should belong to the department of his principal; and he was not accepted if his age exceeded thirty-two years, or if the slightest

personal defect could be discovered by an exact and minute examination, which was instituted for that purpose.

The conscripts were told that their service should not extend beyond the term of five years: but as in France no one ever knew an instance of a soldier's being discharged, without having been declared unfit for service, it might reasonably be expected in Holland, that the service of a conscript would terminate only with his life. The regulations also respecting the conscription were annually changed; and thus the code became intricate and confused. The explanation of any doubt rested with the persons entrusted with the execution of the law, the rigour of which was not mitigated by the construction they adopted.

Such were the conscription laws. The taxes imposed were extremely severe. The most oppressive were those levied on land and houses; of which the former usually amounted to 25, and the latter to 30 per cent. of the clear annual rent. Other direct taxes were levied on persons and moveable property, on doors and windows, and on patents granted for the exercise of trades and professions; and then followed the long list of stamps, and all the various impositions on bridges, passage-boats, and carriages; on spirits, wine, beer, tobacco, and salt; on legacies, and all sales of property, either real or personal, &c. There was much inequality in the operation of the taxes on land and houses, as the amount was fixed for each department, and then divided among the circles and parishes of which it was composed; for if the original rate of taxation, which was 20 per cent. of the rent, did not produce the contingent of each parish, the deficiency was supplied by increasing the proportion to be paid by each individual. Thus the rate of the land-tax increased in proportion as the rents fell; and as many persons destroyed their houses to avoid paying the taxes levied on them, the weight was thrown with additional severity upon

the others. The personal tax was at first levied equally upon every individual inhabiting the same parish, and consisted of the price of three days labour, which was fixed by the prefect at a rate varying in the different parishes, from half a franc to a franc and a half for each day. If this assessment did not produce the contingent of the parish, the residue was levied on the personal property of those who had been assessed in proportion to the value. The taxes on doors and windows, on the patents on trades and professions, on the manufacture of tobacco, and some other duties, were regulated by tariffs, increasing the amount to be paid in proportion to the population of the parishes in which the taxes were raised. The whole sums annually obtained from Holland, by these means, amounted to about 30,000,000 of florins, being at the rate of about £1. 13*s*. 4*d*. sterling, from every individual inhabiting the country.

But the greatest of the misfortunes to which the Dutch were exposed, appeared in the shape of the continental system; the chief object of which was to destroy the resources, and ruin the prosperity of Great Britain, by excluding her from all commercial intercourse with the continent. But England was mistress of the seas, and could not be placed in a state of political excommunication, without compelling the nations of the continent to relinquish their foreign trade. The greatest military force that has ever appeared in modern Europe under one chief, has been annihilated in this strange attempt, which is not likely to be renewed; but the misery which the experiment inflicted upon Holland cannot be described, and can be fully understood by those only who have witnessed its lamentable results.

The population of Amsterdam was, by this system, reduced from 220,000 to 190,000, of whom a fourth part derived their whole subsistence from

charitable institutions, while another fourth part recived partial succour from the same sources. At Haerlem, where the population had been chiefly employed in bleaching linen, made in Brabant, and in preparing it for sale, whole streets were levelled with the ground, and more than 500 houses destroyed. At the Hague, at Delf, and in other towns, many inhabitants had been induced to pull down their houses from inability to pay the taxes, or keep their habitations in repair. Ruin was everywhere imminent. The preservation of the dikes, requiring annually an expence estimated at £600,000. sterling, was greatly neglected. The sea inundated the Polders, and threatened to resume its ancient dominion over a great part of the country. Meanwhile, all classes of the people were crushed under a load of suffering. Even the most opulent families escaped abject poverty only by diminishing their establishments, and adopting the most rigid economy; and there remained no source of wealth or distinction, and no object of ambition to which a Dutchman could aspire. Commerce was extinguished; and no one would voluntarily enter the army or navy, as he would thus be compelled to fight for the worst enemy of his country. The calamities of the Dutch were aggravated to the highest degree; they were compelled to sacrifice themselves in a cause which they abhorred, and in the service of a power which had robbed them of their independence, and reduced them from freedom to slavery, from prosperity to misery, and from a high pitch of national glory to the lowest state of national degradation.

It is the happy impulse of tyranny, inevitably to pursue the road to its own destruction; and, in Holland, the grievous oppressions of France inspired every heart with an earnest desire to throw off the yoke. In the continuance of severe suffering, all the parties which agitated and ruined this unhappy country, had undergone a salutary change. The remembrance of former evils and

discontents had faded away, while the blessings which had once been enjoyed under the mild government of the house of Orange were borne in mind, with regret for the past, and hope for the future. A great portion of the people, including all the lower classes, had retained an undiminished and faithful attachment to this illustrious family, whose ancestors had fought so nobly for their independence, and whose name is inseparably united with almost every memorial of the prosperity and glory of the Dutch. The patriots, by whose factious spirit the country had been first betrayed to the common enemy, had long since been taught, that no hope of freedom or prosperity could be reposed in France; they were now united in desiring an opportunity of resistance; and, as they were convinced that the restoration of the prince of Orange could alone afford relief to their harassed country, they held themselves ready to give their sincere and active assistance in promoting his return.—The Orangemen, in general, had not only maintained their fidelity, but some of the principal persons had contrived to keep up a clandestine correspondence with his most Serene Highness. Under these circumstances, the leaders of the different parties were closely united. The people, however, bestowed their confidence upon the old and tried friends of the house of Orange alone. Some of the Orange leaders had, at the express desire of the Prince, communicated to them at the peace of Amiens, accepted a share in the government of the Batavian republic, with the view of alleviating the calamities of their country, and preparing the way for the return of the exiled family. Others had been compelled to continue in office by Buonaparté, who, perhaps, hoped to derive some advantage from the employment and co-operation of those who exclusively possessed the confidence of the Dutch nation. It was on these persons, who were well known, and still more on others of the same party, who had steadily refused to accept any

share in the government, after Hollsnd was united to France, that the people placed their reliance. The patriots, though converted from their former opinions, were treated with suspicion by those who had no means of being acquainted with their sincerity. But, in fact, all important differences of opinion had been obliterated; the wishes of the patriots corresponded with those of the people; and, at the end of the year 1813, it may safely be affirmed, that the Dutch nation was unanimous in the desire of expelling their oppressors, and recalling the prince of Orange. When the crisis arrived, the prejudices of the people made it necessary to intrust the management of the revolution to the Orange party alone; but much assistance was willingly afforded, not only by the members of the old patriot party, but also by many persons who had voluntarily entered into the service of Buonaparté, and obtained the confidence of the French government. The French authorities very soon discovered that they were betrayed on every side, and that most of the natives of Holland, in the service of Buonaparté, how contrary soever it might seem to their interest, were his secret or avowed enemies. All confidence was thus destroyed, and, after the first explosion of popular feeling, terror and vacillation marked the conduct of the persons against whom it was directed.

Such were the causes which prepared the Dutch people for the happy change accomplished in their government towards the close of the present year. Even before this period, however, some important proceedings had taken place, of which it may be proper to give a short account.

The disasters experienced by the French army in the Russian campaign, having inspired hopes that the deliverance of Holland might, at some future period, be effected; the chiefs of the Orange party at the Hague met frequently, in secret, towards the end of the year 1812, to consult respecting the measures which might enable them to seize

the first favourable opportunity of shaking off the yoke of France, and restoring the prince of Orange. They found means of communicating with several respectable persons in different towns of Holland, whom they knew to be well disposed to their cause, and who promised their assistance so soon as they were informed of the object which the confederates were well aware, that while the power of France continued, any attempt at insurrection, on the part of the Dutch nation, would be hopeless; but, as there seemed to be a prospect that the limits of this dominion might be contracted, they were determined to do their utmost, to prepare for the assertion of their independence. They proceeded, in the whole affair, upon the conviction that their efforts, so soon as they should declare themselves, would be aided by the British government.

Holland remained in a state of tranquillity during the spring and summer of the year 1813; and the French government seems to have been deceived by this appearance Troops were from all quarters marched off to join the army with which Buonaparté was about to attack the Russian and Prussian forces; and no serious apprehensions were entertained respecting the conduct of the people of Holland until after the battle of Leipzig. The French do not appear to have foreseen the possibility of a serious insurrection, drained as the country was of native troops, of arms, of ammunition, and overawed by numerous fortresses.

In the month of April, indeed, some partial disturbances ensued, in consequence of the enrolment of the national guards,—a measure which was peculiarly obnoxious to the lower classes of the people. The mob accordingly, without any previous concert with the confederates, rose upon their oppressors at Alphen, the Hague, Rotterdam, Oud-Beyerland, and Zaudam,—destroyed the parish registers necessary for the enrolment,—took the town of Leyden, and hoisted there the Orange

flag, amid incessant cries of "Orange Boven!" The confederates endeavoured in vain to calm the populace, who, at the Hague, and other towns, fought desperately with the French military force in the streets; but as they wanted fire arms, and were without a leader, this revolt was soon suppressed, though not without the loss of several lives on both sides.

From this peaiod to the month of October following, Holland remained tranquil. When intelligence of the battle of Leipsig, however, and of its result, began to transpire, the confederates at the Hague judged that the time was now come to secure the services of a respectable band of men, and in order to effect this object, without committing the safety of the whole to the discretion of a numerous body, the following plan was adopted:—Each of the confederates selected from among his friends four individuals, who, without any mutual concert or knowledge of each other, engaged to be ready whenever called upon by the selector, and implicitly to obey his command. The persons whose co-operation was thus secured, were then directed to make sure of four others,—each of whom, in like manner, was to engage to be ready at a moment's warning, with whatever arms he could procure. None of these persons was made acquainted with the plot, except as to its final object; nor informed of any name except that of his immediate selector. To avoid detection, nothing was committed to paper,—no written engagement was entered into; but the individuals thus chosen received verbal instruction, in case of any tumults, to repair immediately to the spot, mingle with the crowd, and there await the orders of their chief. Thus the confederates formed a band of nearly 400 respectable adherents, selected chiefly from among the burghers of the town. This class possessed, in a high degree, the confidence of the people at large, and was well disposed to the cause of the Prince of Orange. If, however, contrary

to all probability, any of the persons so chosen had been induced, either by corruption or intimidation, to reveal to the French police his knowledge of the plot, he could have betrayed only one name upwards in the scale, namely, that of his immediate selector, whose individual safety thus depended upon his prudence in the choice of his instruments. Besides this band, Count Styrum succeeded in securing the services of Pronck, an inhabitant of Schæveningen, a village on the coast, about a mile from the Hague. This person possessed great influence among the sailors and fishermen in the neighbourhood; and engaged to furnish on the shortest notice, 50 men, who should implicitly obey the orders of the confederates. No measures were taken (for none were necessary) to influence the people; it was perfectly clear, that their good-will and co-operation might be depended upon, the moment leaders were presented to them in whom they could confide; so that this enterprise was free from the dilemma which attends most conspiracies, and has been the ruin of so many,—viz. the necessity of gaining over the multitude, and the difficulty of accomplishing this without risking a premature discovery of the plot.

Count Styrum, whose zeal, courage, and activity were remarkable, was entrusted with the military details, which consisted in preparing such arms and ammunition as could be collected without exciting suspicion, and obtaining authentic accounts of the state of the French military force, and of the dispositions of foreigners in the service of France. He succeeded in gaining over the whole of the Dutch national guard, consisting of 500 men; whose commander, colonel Tulling, warmly embraced the cause of the prince of Orange, and yet conducted himself with so much circumspection as to retain to the last the confidence of the prefect.

So many drafts of French troops had been made by this time from Holland, that the whole military

force in the country did not exceed 10,000 men. The extraordinary successes and the advance of the allies could no longer be concealed. Meanwhile all the natives of France employed in the civil service, who could find any pretext for their departure, quitted the country with their families, and endeavoured to sell or carry off their property. This circumstance, added to the increasing and ill-dissembled terror of those who were obliged to remain, and the exaggerated reports which were every day circulated of the disasters of the French army, excited a great fermentation among the population.

Affairs were in this statate, when, on the 13th of November, towards evening, the turf-carriers, (who are at the Hague a formidable body,) governed by chiefs of their own election, assembled in considerable numbers at the town-house, and together with the populace, demanded, in a very tumultuous manner, that M. Slicher, who had formerly been burgomaster, should resume his functions. This gentleman deserved and possessed the confidence of the people,—and though not one of the confederates, was a faithful adherent of the Prince of Orange. Count Styrum and M. Repelaer immediately repaired to the spot; and, as they thought that the favorable moment was not arrived, and that a premature explosion would ruin the cause, they easily succeeded in dispersing the mob by means of their adherents, who, according to their general instructions, had mixed with the crowd upon the first appearance of a tumult. A few moments after this the prefect arrived, accompanied by a military force, and was surprised to find no vestige of a disturbance.—The dispersion of this mob was the first essay which the confederates made of their power. and the success surpassed their expectations.

The French authorities, perceiving the danger of their situation, made an attempt to disunite the confederates and the Orange party, by employing

them under government. But this artifice did not succeed, although the consequence of the attempt was, that the views of the Dutch leaders were discovered to the prefect.

The middle and lower orders were, throughout the whole of Holland, impatient to throw off the yoke of France, and to declare for the Prince of Orange. Those who had much to lose, though equally well disposed, were more circumspect; and this was particularly the case at Amsterdam. The powerful and wealthy inhabitants of that city dreaded the result of a popular commotion; the excesses which had been committed there in the revolution of 1787, when the populace of each party pillaged in different quarters of the town, were still fresh in their memory, and they expected at all events, soon to be delivered from the French by the advance of the allies.

The populace, however, were anxious at once, to declare their sentiments; and the national guards, a body of 1,500 men were ready to co-operate in any measures which might tend to free them from the government of Buonaparté. This corps, which was commanded by colonel Van Brienen, had been previously gained over by one of its officers, captain Falck, who was in communication with the confederates at the Hague, and was the chief instigator of the events which ensued. The principal obstacles opposed to him were the French government and the Dutch corporation; the members of the latter, though generally well disposed, were restrained by the fear of letting the people loose, and over-awed by the vicinity of an army under general Molitor, at Utrecht. In these circumstances, captain Falck conceived that the only way of accomplishing his object was to intimidate the French authorities, and induce them to abandon their posts through fear of popular vengeance: and, at the same time, to persuade the corporation to accede to the wishes of the people, and form a provisional government, in order to

avoid the excesses of popular violence. When this step was once taken, he judged that it would be no difficult matter to bring about a declaration in favour of the Prince of Orange. It was necessary however, for the accomplishment of his plan, to excite the people to some overt act of opposition to the French. This was no difficult task. Accordingly, on the 15th of November, the populace being already in a state of great fermentation, a mob was collected, which immediately proceeded to burn the wooden huts in which the douaniers, or excisemen, levied the duties; and to pillage the house of a receiver of the customs, who refused to take down the French arms. This tumult, which had the appearance of being purely accidental, succeeded in both its primary objects; it terrified the French authorities, who, on the next day, quitted the town; and the corporation having applied to the national guard to disperse the mob, this body, on being assured that a provisional government would next day be formed, proceeded to quell the tumult. This commotion must be considered as the signal of the revolution: and to the populace of Amsterdam, exclusively, belongs the honour of having been the first to raise in Holland the standard of revolt against the government of Buonaparté. No principals, however, had hitherto committed themselves; on the contrary, the national guard had quelled the tumult, which was still of a nature to be considered and represented only as an accidental popular commotion.

Next day a proclamation was issued, in which 24 persons were called upon by name, to assume the administration of affairs; the French authorities having thought proper to quit the city. The confederates at the Hague received, on the evening of the 16th, intelligence of the insurrection at Amsterdam, and of the occurrences which had followed. These circumstances persuaded them that the moment was at length arrived to put their design into execution. It was considered, that if

the events which had taken place in the capital were allowed to pass by without any corresponding demonstrations in the other parts of the country, the most lamentable results might ensue for that city, and for the cause. In addition to this it was urged, that a general insurrection in Holland would, no doubt, accelerate the advance of the allies, who would lose no time in profiting by so favorable an occurrence; and that at all events the Dutch might be confident of receiving, as promptly as possible, whatever assistance England could afford. These considerations prevailed; and accordingly Count Styrum was, by the confederates, immediately appointed governor of the Hague in the name of the Prince of Orange. An instrument was also drawn up, summoning a meeting of the ancient regents,—that is to say, of those persons who had been members of the states of Holland in the year 1794 and 1795; and this meeting was appointed to take place the next day. A proclamation was also issued by the new governor in the name of the Prince of Orange, announcing the happy change. This proclamation was received by the people with every possible demonstration of joy; an orange flag was hoisted on the tower of the Hague, and colours were hung out, as signs of rejoicing, from almost every window in the town.

At the moment when the confederates declared themselves so nobly, and proclaimed the prince of Orange with so much solemnity, their whole force consisted of 8 or 900 men badly armed. The country having been for three years and a half annexed to France, had been plundered of all its resources. The necessities, as well as the policy of the French government had entirely drained it of arms, ammunition, military stores, accoutrements, artillery, and horses. The confederates had no funds but their private fortunes. It was for some time impracticable to continue the levy of the existing taxes, as the persons employed in

the collection of them had absconded, and had destroyed or taken away all the papers; registers, and necessary documents; and the balances of public money which remained in hand had been all carried off on the first alarm. The Prince, in whose name the confederates had taken up arms, had been 19 years in a state of exile; and it was not known whether he was in England or in Germany.

It was in such circumstances, and with such means, that half a dozen private gentlemen, aided by an unarmed populace, declared war against Buonaparté, whose troops were at this moment in possession of all the fortresses and strong places in the country, and had not even evacuated the open towns. No tumult had hitherto occurred at Rotterdam;—Amsterdam had refused to declare itself for the Prince of Orange. General Molitor had an army of 4,000 regular troops at Utrecht, only 12 leagues from the Hague, and there was a French garrison at Gorcum. The confederates indeed, confidently depended upon assistance, both from the British government and from the combined armies; but the force of the allies in Holland consisted only of a few cossacks, and the easterly winds which prevailed would probably delay the arrival of troops from England.

It was ascertained about the same time, beyond all doubt, that general Bulow had *instructions not to pass the Yssel*, and that it did not form part of the military plans of the allies to advance into Holland beyond the line of that river. This communication was extremely discouraging; the sword was, however drawn, and it was impossible to recede.

The assembly of the ancient regents, which had been convoked by the proclamation of the confederates, took place at the house of M. Van Hogendorp. The persons, who had been members of the provisional states, in the years 1794, and 1795, were considered as those who could with

most propriety take upon themselves the government of the country, till the arrival of the prince of Orange; but when called upon at this meeting, to form themselves into a provisional council, they all declined having any share in the administration of affairs. They objected to the confederates, that they were acting without any authority from the prince of Orange, of whose place of residence even they were ignorant; that they were surrounded on all sides by French troops, who still retained possession of every fortress in the country; and that the French, though they had in a moment of sudden panic, been expelled from a few open towns, would not fail, when they discovered the weakness of the confederates, to return with reinforcements from Utrecht and Gorcum, and complete the ruin of the country. To this the confederates replied, that although they had no specific instructions on the present occasion, they had previously received assurances from the prince of Orange, of his cordial co-operation in any measure that might tend to throw off the yoke of France, and restore him to his country; that messengers had already been dispatched to apprize him of the events which had taken place; that with regard to the means which were at their disposal, they were not so contemptible as had been represented; for although not sufficient to effect a revolution, unaided by other powers, yet with courage and prudence they might serve to keep out the French until the arrival of troops from England; that if their ancestors had wasted that time which they employed in action, in nice calculations of the probabilities of success,—if they had been appalled by the disproportion of force between them and their oppressors, their descendants would have remained the victims of the Inquisition, and Holland would never have existed as a free country; that experience and history prove, that when the will of the people is firmly

expressed, it must be ultimately triumphant; that the French had been taught by their reverses to appreciate the truth of this remark, and were disposed to dread the result of an unanimous insurrection of a nation headed by firm and resolute chiefs; that the character of the Dutch is neither fickle nor inconstant; and that it would be no novel event in their history to find the natives of Holland risking their lives and fortunes on the most fearful odds, in defence of their liberty and national independence; that the vengeance of their oppressors was already excited to the utmost, and could only be averted by the boldest efforts; and finally, that as to the ruin of their country, they had been taught by 19 years of tyranny and oppression, that the only certain ruin for Holland was submission to the yoke of France.

These representations were received with general and probably sincere assurances, of good-will to the cause; but the regents concluded the conference by distinctly declaring, that as the confederates had embarked in this enterprize without their knowledge or advice, they must carry it through without any assistance from them as a body; although, as individuals, they would each perform every duty of a good citizen, and do every thing to maintain public tranquility. When the assembly separated, the confederates requested that those persons who might be disposed to give their assistance, would meet two days afterward (on the 20th) at the same place; and added, that several notables would be convened at the same time, in order that some decisive measures might be taken to provide for the defence and government of the country, until the return of the prince of Orange.

As it was of great importance that the Prince should be informed, as soon as possible, of the events which had taken place, an officer had already been dispatched to the head-quarters of the allies at Frankfort, with a letter for his most Serene

Highness! and on the same day, (the 19th) M. M. Peponcher and Fagel, set sail from Schœveningen, with a favourable wind, for England, to offer the sovereignty to his most Serene Highness, and to invite him to come over and assume the government. Messengers had also been dispatched in different directions; some to the English fleet; others to the nearest points said to be occupied by the allies. M. Vander Hoven was now sent on a similar misson, with general instructions to use every effort to hasten the advance of the combined armies.

On the 20th, the adjourned meeting of the ancient regents was held at the house of M. Van Hogendorp.—Some of the most wealthy persons of the town had been summoned to attend, and about fifty persons assembled. The same arguments which had been before used, were repeated with as little effect. No circumstances had occurred to brighten the prospects of the confederates; on the contrary, the allied armies, which had been represented as advancing, were known to have no considerable force in Holland, the provinces beyond the Yssel being but feebly occupied by small parties of cossacks. After some time had been spent in warm discussion, the assembly broke up, the persons present having resisted all the persuasions of the confederates, and refused to appoint any provisional goverment. The result of this conference cast a general gloom over the minds of the people; they began to think their cause desperate, since those individuals, who from their station, were considered as the best qualified to asume the direction of affairs, refused to commit themselves, or to embark in the enterprize.—Confidence was however in some measure restored by the appointment, on the 21st, of M. Hogendorp and Maasdam to the general administration of affairs at the Hague,—an appointment of which these gentlemen accepted.

On the 23rd of November, M. Van Stissen was

dispatched by the confederates to the provinces beyond the Yssel, now occupied by the allies; he found that their whole force consisted of 4 or 500 cossacks, under the command of prince Lapupkin. The Frieslanders were every where disposed to declare for the prince of Orange, and to enlist as volunteers in his name; but the magistrates could not be prevailed upon to take any decisive measures. An application for assistance having been made by M. Van Stissen to prince Lapupkin, he replied, that he should be glad to see a general armament and declaration in favour of the prince of Orange, and that he would afford every facility in his power; but that he was resolved not to control the wishes of the inhabitants. He expressed great admiration of what had been done at the Hague, and promised to order the immediate advance of a body of cavalry to assist the confederates.

The provisional government, which had been established at Amsterdam, and which had neither acknowledged the prince of Orange nor abjured Napoleon, continued in a state of indecision; the French was known to meditate an attack upon the lines from Amsterdam to Dordrecht; the contrary winds precluded all hope of the arrival of immediate assistance from England, and the bad state of the roads obstructed the advance of the artillery.—Alarm was spread on all sides by the pusilanimous. In this emergency, M. Scholten and Professor Kemper determined to make another attempt to induce the magistracy to declare for the Orange cause, and the efforts of these gentlemen, aided by the approach of 300 cossacks, prevailed. The prince of Orange was solemnly proclaimed at Amsterdam on the 23d, the people shewing the most enthusiastic joy, and hailing him by the title of king of Holland.

The confederates and their adherents had already made very considerable advances of money from their private fortunes; and the government began to experience much inconvenience from the

want of supplies. The difficulties of collecting the existing taxes, and the fear of imprudently committing their authority by levying new impositions, induced them to issue a proclamation calling upon the inhabitants for voluntary subscriptions—a measure, which was productive of little good, and served only to discover their poverty and weakness. On the same day, however, intelligence was communicated to the public, that an officer, who had been dispatched to the English squadron, had returned with promises of speedy assistance; and general de Jouge, having informed count Styrum, that Woerden was occupied by a very feeble French garrison, that officer was ordered to advance from Badegrave with the force under his command, and take possession of the town. Colonel Tulling was accordingly dispatched with the Orange guard; and the French garrison, after some negociations, evacuated the place, and retired upon Utrecht. Woerden was immediately occupied by the Dutch troops, who placed a cannon and twenty-five men in an out-post. The proper precautions were not however taken by the raw volunteers, who had made themselves masters of the town, so that the French having marched from Utrecht, surprised the out-post, took the cannon, and escaladed the town, and after some resistance got possession of the place, and took colonel Tulling prisoner. It was with much difficulty that the Orange guard made good its retreat upon Leyden. The French committed here the most barbarous outrages, and despondency for a moment seized the patriots.

On the morning of the 25th, the anxiety of the public was at the highest pitch. The state of the wind still continued adverse to the arrival of assistance from England; its slightest alterations were watched with the greatest interest; the road from the Hague to Schœveningen was crowded with persons of all ages and sexes, who spent the day

on the coast, watching every sail, and often were deluded by false reports of the arrival of the English. In the midst of this anxiety, (on the 26th) a boat was seen to approach the shore, and the report was instantly spread, that an English officer was on board. He landed amidst the loudest acclamations; and the populace without waiting for any explanation, and deaf to all remonstrances, conducted him in triumph to the governor's house. The person who had been thus mistaken for a British officer proved to be a gentleman named Grant, who had come over on a mercantile adventure, and had brought with him English newspapers, which contained accounts of the great preparations made to embark troops for Holland. The effect produced by his arrival suggested the idea of keeping up the delusion; and at the request of M. Van Hogendorp, Mr. Grant dressed himself in an English volunteer uniform, and shewed himself in every part of the town. The expedient succeeded for the moment beyond expectation, in inspiring the disheartened people with confidence, and in intimidating the French, who, upon hearing that troops had arrived from England, and that the cossacks had occupied Leyden, retreated towards Utrecht, and abandoned their intentions of advancing upon the Hague. The Dutch people, however, were become so incredulous, by the constant succession of false intelligence, that they very soon suspected this story to be a contrivance of the government: and some asserted, that the supposed British officer was an inhabitant of Rotterdam, who had been selected for the occasion. Mr. Grant, however, afterwards rendered more essential service to the Dutch cause, by carrying accurate intelligence to admiral Ferrier of the state of affairs in Holland, and of the dangers to which the confederates were exposed.

About this time, admiral Kichert repaired to M. Van Hogendorp at the Hague, and signified to him his determination of declaring for the prince

of Orange; he then produced a plan of operations to secure the navigation of the Maese, from the Briele to Gorcum. The execution of this plan required, however, the immediate advance of 50,000 florins (£5000.) M Van Hogendorp, having given the admiral his note of hand for that sum, he returned to Rotterdam, raised the money among the friends of the confederates there, and immediately commenced his operations, by a proclamation abjuring the government of Napoleon, and declaring for the prince of Orange. This event decided the provisional government of that city to follow his example. Thus the navigation of the Maese was secured to the confederates, and all the sailors immediately hoisted the Orange flag, vessels were armed and manned without delay, and dispatched up the river to straighten William-Stadt and Helvoetsluys, which were still occupied by the enemy.

The confederates were by these means protected from any sudden irruption on the side of Gorcum; but the greatest apprehension still existed of an attack from Utrecht. The French army there, under the command of general Molitor, which originally consisted of 4,000 regular troops, had been augmented by the arrival of detached corps, which had been driven in by the peasantry from the surrounding country. There was nothing to impede the advance of this army upon Amsterdam and the Hague, for it was superior in numbers and discipline to any force which the confederates could have opposed to it. Their troops, which consisted of a few hundred men only, were for the most part raw volunteers, badly armed, and without any military experience. It is difficult, in such circumstances, to account for the inactivity of the enemy, otherwise, than by supposing him deceived and intimidated by the accounts which were continually circulated of the arrival of the British and Russian troops. The Dutch about this time, displayed great ingenuity in the trans-

mission of false intelligence to the French, who were thus foiled at their favourite weapon.

On the 27th, Mr. Fagel arrived from England, and brought a letter from the prince of Orange to M. Van Hogendorp, promising the prompt arrival of succours, and stating the Prince's intention of sailing as soon as possible for Holland. This letter induced the confederates to hope that they might be able to keep the French in check till the debarkation of the British troops. It was printed and dispersed without delay, and put an end to the hesitation of the magistracy of Leenwarden and Groningen, who, on the receipt of it, immediately gratified the wishes of the inhabitants of Friezeland, by declaring for the prince of Orange.

After the Orange flag had been hoisted at the Hague, Captain Wautier was dispatched to the head-quarters of the allies, which were then in Frankfort. On the 22d, he found general Bulow at Munster, and communicated to him the events which had taken place in Holland. The general observed, that this insurrection would be no less advantageous to the allies, than a successful campaign; but regretted that his instructions did not permit him to advance beyond the Yssel. He was, however, subsequently induced to deviate from his orders, and to act upon his own responsibility. An unsuccessful application, to the same effect, was made to general Winzingerode; but an order for his advance from the Crown Prince of Sweden, under whom this general served, was afterwards obtained by the confederates.

On the 28th of November, four English men of war appeared off Scœveningen; captain Baker immediately landed from the Cumberland, and proceeded to the Hague, which had just been entered by a detachment of 60 cossacks. Still however, the people were alarmed and incredulous as to the arrival of English troops; particularly as admiral Ferrier sailed with two of the above ships from Schœveningen to the Texel, and the trans-

ports which had been erroneously announced as accompanying the fleet, did not appear. An event which occurred in the middle of the night increased the consternation. A large building in the centre of the town, which had been inhabited by the French attorney-general, was discovered to be on fire. All the papers belonging to the office had been left there; in three hours, the whole edifice was consumed; and as the fire could not be considered accidental, it was supposed to be a concerted signal given to the French by their emissaries at the Hague. To dispel the general gloom, captain Baker directed as many marines to be landed from the Cumberland and Princess Caroline as could be spared, without endangering the safety of those vessels. Accordingly, on the following day, (29th) 200 marines were disembarked. The people were overjoyed at their arrival; and each contended for the satisfaction of having an Englishman billeted in his house. All their former terrors and anxieties were forgotten in the joy for their deliverance; and from the most excessive despondency they psssed to the opposite extreme. Their confidence was at the same time increased by intelligence, that the French had retired upon Gorcum after evacuating Woerden and Nieuwersluys. The day was spent in rejoicings and in preparations for the arrival of the prince of Orange, which seemed now the only event wanting to complete the general happiness. The Prince who had embarked on the 26th at Deal, on board the Warrior, with lord Clancarty and the English embassy, arrived on the 30th off Schœveningen. In the course of the voyage they fell in with the Cumberland; and captain Baker having communicated to the Prince the state of affairs at the Hague, the apprehensions which were entertained of the return of the French, and the feeble means of defence possessed by the confederates, lord Clancarty was induced to order captain Baker off his station, and to send him to admiral Young

with a statement of these circumstances. The admiral soon dispatched 300 marines, who were landed at Schœveningen, and employed to make a demonstration on Helvoetsluys.

When his most Serene Highness approached the Dutch coast, various reports were conveyed to him of the surrender of the Brielle, and it was proposed to sail for that port; but another opinion fortunately prevailed, and the original intention was persevered in, of bearing up for Schœveningen. The Brielle was still in the possession of the French, and much risk would have ensued, had the plan of landing there been adopted. Although doubts were entertained respecting the state of affairs on shore, the Prince was with difficulty persuaded, when he arrived off Sehœveningen, to permit M. M. Perponcher and Hoppner to precede him to the Hague, that they might obtain information, and communicate, by signal, whether it would be safe for him to land. His impatience was, however, so great, that, without waiting for this signal, a few minutes after these gentlemen had left the ship, he got into a boat, from which he was conveyed into a cart to the shore, under a royal salute from the English ships. An immense concourse of people had rushed into the water to receive him; and it was with difficulty he could disengage himself from the crowd which pressed round from every side to congratulate him on his return. The day was remarkably fine, the beach was covered with spectators, and the cry of Orange Boven was heard from all sides, accompanied by demonstrations of joy, approaching almost to phrenzy.

Amid the disgusting scenes of base and unprincipled adulation which have disgraced a neighbouring country, it is with pleasure the mind turns to the contemplation of the honest joy of a people whose applause confers honour upon its object, because it has never been lavished upon a tyrant.

On the arrival of the prince of Orange at the

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King of the Netherlands.

Hague, he proceeded to the house of count Styrum, which was thrown open, and all were admitted into his presence. At night the town was illuminated; and, as the people every where proclaimed William the First, sovereign prince, it was proposed that he should assume that title. It was, however, after some consideration, decided, that no step of this nature should be taken till his most Serene Highness had visited the capital. The Prince was desirous of proceeding the next day to Amsterdam, but was detained by the meeting of a council of war, which was attended by lord Clancarty, and by generals Bulow and Benkendorf.—At this council the future military operations were decided upon.

The whole military force at the Hague consisted of about 1500 men, including the 200 English marines landed by captain Baker. These troops would not have been sufficient to prevent the advance of the French; but the arrival of the prince of Orange inspired the Dutch with fresh courage, and induced the French to form an erroneous opinion, that he was attended by a powerful army from England. From this time, the success of the revolution was considered by the people as certain; yet the more enlightened were not without serious apprehensions, when they considered the feeble means of defence which the government possessed. The enemy still occupied the greater number of the fortresses, and the whole of Zealand, including the island of Walcheren, so that the prince of Orange, in fact, had nothing more than the open towns. His situation, indeed, was so critical, that lord Clancarty deemed it prudent to detain the Warrior some days upon the coast, as a resource in case of any reverse.

The prince of Orange, convinced that unanimity in a nation is the only source of strength, lost no time in giving the Dutch people a pledge of the principles and conduct of his future government. Accordingly, on the 1st of December an

address was distributed, in which it was stated, that after nineteen years of absence, the Prince received, with the greatest joy, their unanimous invitation to return among them. That he now hoped, by the blessing of providence, to be the instrument of restoring them to their former state of independence and prosperity. That this was his only object; and he had the satisfaction of assuring them, that this was also the object of the combined powers; that it was particularly the wish of the Prince Regent, and of the British nation. That this great truth would be proved to them by the aid which that powerful and generous people would immediately afford them, and which would restore those ancient bonds of alliance and friendship, so long a source of happiness and prosperity to both countries. That he had come among them determined to pardon, and to forget all that was past, and that the spirit of party must be banished forever.

While these events were passing at the Hague, a Russian force, consisting of 2,400 men, and six pieces of cannon, under the command of general Benkendorf, arrived at Amsterdam. These troops had embarked on the Zuyder Zee to avoid the French army at Utrecht; and a Prussian corps was also at this time known to be advancing against the fortress. Nor was this all; for on the same day the important fortress of Brielle was taken.—This place was garrisoned by 500 men, the half of whom were Prussians and foreigners, who were disaffected to the French government, and daily deserted. The people of the town, profiting by this circumstance, rose upon the French, and, aided by the national guards, who were all Dutch, after fighting in the streets for an hour and a half, compelled the garrison to surrender, and hoisted the Orange flag.

On the 3d of December, the prince of Orange, accompanied by the English embassy, made his entrance into Amsterdam. He was received with

unanimous applause by all classes, and proclaimed sovereign prince of the Netherlands. The next day an address was published, in which the new title of his Serene Highness was alluded to, and a determination was expressed to establish a free constitution.

During the stay of his Royal Highness at Amsterdam, intelligence was received of the capture of Arnheim, which had been stormed with the greatest bravery by the Prussian troops under the command of general Bulow. Thus all apprehensions from the army of general Molitor, which was in full retreat, and all fears of an attack from the side of Utrecht, were dissipated. The French were still in force in the neighbourhood of Gorcum, but general Bulow was preparing to advance upon that place. The Fort du Quesne was surprised on the 4th by a band of workmen, who were employed in the fortifications. This event materially contributed to the subsequent surrender of Helvoetsluys. Some mariners of admiral Young's squadron, aided by a body of Dutch troops, having advanced to the neighbourhood of Helvoetsluys, the town was evacuated in the night of the 5th by the French; and thus the communication with England, which had hitherto been exposed to great danger and delay, was rendered safe and expeditious. The next day 1700 of the English guards arrived at Schœveningen, an event which terminated all doubt as to the success of the revolution.

On the 6th, a proclamation was issued by the prince of Orange at the Hague, in which it was stated, that when, in conformity with the general wish expressed by the people, he had taken upon himself the sovereignty, it was his desire to celebrate this event by some great solemnity; but the situation of the country, and the important occupations which resulted, had induced him to delay this ceremony, till he should be able to present to

the nation, a constitution which should insure to the people of Holland, their ancient liberties. The Prince announced, that in the meantime he had taken the management of affairs into his own hands, and dissolved the provisional government, not without warm feelings of gratitude for its efforts, to which the liberation of Holland must be chiefly ascribed, and without which the deliverance of the country could have been the result only of the victorious arms of the allies. He absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance to Napoleon Buonaparté; and concluded by stating, that his confidence in the future was entirely founded upon the affection of his countrymen, the protection of Providence, and the consciousness of the purity of his intentions.—This proclamation was followed by the recognition of William the First, as sovereign prince in every part of Holland, which was not occupied by the French; that is to say, in all the open towns, from the Ems to the right bank of the Maese.

As the enemy, however, was still in possession of many of the principal fortresses, and as a French garrison was at Naarden, within nine miles of Amsterdam, measures were immediately adopted for the formation of an army, the levy of troops, and the regulation of the military force. But the country was so completely drained of arms and ammunition, and of every thing necessary for the equipment of the troops, it was impossible at once to organize the new levies; yet, in the very short space of four months, and out of a population of 1,800,000 souls, 25,000 men were raised, armed, and equipped, in a country which had been previously exhausted by the conscription, and part of which was still in the possession of the French.—These measures, supported by the rapid progress of the allied armies, completed the triumph of Dutch patriotism; while the liberties of the people were secured by a constitution, combining most of the advantages of that admired frame of

government, which seems destined to form, at no very distant period, a model for all civilized nations.

We shall conclude, by presenting to our readers a summary of French interference with Holland. It is now just thirty years ago since the French, in the course of their general offers of beneficence and amelioration to the whole world, went with their proffered blessings into Holland, and were received by the Dutch as trusting neighbours, not unacquainted with freedom, and not unwilling to see it perfected and extended every where.—The Statholder then presiding, a prince not much liked at home, and since that time, not much admired abroad,—was suffered to depart; a new republic was to be formed, and for a little while, both Dutch and French perhaps dreamt of liberties, which the former in great measure enjoyed already, and which the latter, in their intoxication were never to realize. Some difficulties lay in the way of the new improvements; more Frenchmen came in to settle them; they found them not to be settled but by a more direct bond of union between the two republics; and by degrees, the Dutch republic virtually became part of the French, and found itself fighting the battles of freedom whether it would or not. In the mean time, French independence merged into that of the French government; the latter became a military despotism, and did not chuse to see republics staring it in the face, and shaming its past professions; and Holland became a vassal under the new title of a kingdom. The new King, as it turned out, happened to be a good-natured man, who did not relish the office of superintending exactions and oppressions; he chose to feel for his subjects, as a king ought to do, but as this did not suit the views of the king maker, and as he found himself gradually surrounded by new and more powerful rulers in his own capital, he fairly fled from the throne, and hastened to hide his in-

effectual goodness in obscurity. The Dutch, we think, must be kind to the memory of king Louis, and it would be graceful in the Stadtholder, should he ever advert to their condition under him, to say as much. He certainly did for them all he could, and only quitted his invidious slavery, when he found that he could not do for them as much as he wished. It was then discovered, that Holland all this time, would much better have been French at once;—freedom, and decency, and the Dutch people themselves, might say otherwise; but people, and their freedom, had long vanished before greater considerations, that is to say, before the "great objects" of the French Emperor; before the designs and speculations of a conqueror; in other words, before the selfishness of an individual; —besides, nature, by pouring this river in that particular direction and bringing this piece of coast round, as it were, by that piece of coast, had evidently pointed out the duties of the Dutch territory; and Holland was at once declared an integral part of the new empire, by the title of the Seventeenth Military Division.

Such shameless violations of every thing connected with property and decency, (for the Dutch observe; had never been conquered,—they had been inveigled into their vassalage) could have but one effect on those whom they beggared and enslaved. There was no necessity for asking whether the Dutch *did* hate their oppressors, it was felt that they *must* hate them; their trade was broken up, their freedom annihilated, their children dragged into battles and distant countries, without even the consolatory fancy that they were adding to the glory of their country; and therefore as the yoke was merciless, so the rejection of it, was thought, whenever the time should come, would be vindictive and entire. The time, we see did come; and if the Dutch, in taking advantage of it, have behaved themselves in a most exemplary manner, and omitted their revenge as no

part of their duties, it is because they were seriously in earnest, and because the French, among other terrible lessons which they have set to the world, have shewn how horrible and how useless it is to be blood-thirsty in revolutions.

This is the finest feature in a fine work; and if we had to select two examples from history,—the one of the manner in which a people dismissed their prince, the other of that in which they recalled him,—we should name our own revolution in 1688, and the counter-revolution before us. In the latter instance, as we have just related, a people disgusted and wearied out with the broken promises and cruel conduct of their inveiglers, wished to return to their former condition; they resolve at once—elect a provisional government, and without distraction among themselves, or dictation from others,—without any such circumstances as took place at our own "*blessed* restoration" of Charles the Second,—send for a prince of their old house, and set about reviving their old industry and prosperity.

In the former instance, a people, disgusted and wearied out with a foolish and obstinate prince, who went drunkenly forward in a conduct that alienated the best men from about him, take their resolution also, sit quietly round a table to settle the change, and send for another prince, who would know how to respect himself and the nation better, to come and take place of him. If neither example seems to be perfect—if the Dutch, after having sent for their prince without any conditions, and if the English, after declaring their rights did not finish the great work by completely establishing them, the two instances are the best, we recollect, for the manner in which the direct change was effected.

But these are matters, according to a great authority, which it would become "kings never to forget, and their subjects seldom to remember."—

Let kings then take care, how they put their subjects in mind of them; and may the late important events teach both parties their proper lesson, —to kings, the folly as well as wickedness of attempting to push forward their selfish designs at the expence of the people,—and to the people, their own omnipotence when they act upon principle, whether *for* kings or *against* them.

CHAPTER XLI.

FRANCE.—*Apathy of Napoleon.—Invasion of France by the Allied Powers.—Meeting of the Sovereigns at Basle.—Difficulties of the Finances of France.—Energy of Napoleon.—Joins the Army.—Battle of La Rothere.—Troyes, &c. taken by the Allies.—Defeat of Blucher.—Advance of Schwartzenberg upon Paris.—Defeated by Napoleon.——Troyes re-taken —Conduct of the Crown Prince of Sweden.—Operations in Italy.—Treaty between Austria and the King of Naples.*

WE now return to that part of our history that is more immediately connected with the fortunes of Napoleon; namely, the invasion of France by the allies. The last campaign in Germany had produced effects upon the constitution of the Emperor, which was very apparent on his return to Paris. He ate, drank, and slept, and talked much of what was to be done, and what he intended to do; but he did nothing. He had lost much of his former activity and attention to business. When the allies entered France, they found her means of defence no further advanced, than when he had crossed the Rhine, on his return. No intreaty could prevail upon him to make an appeal to the French nation. When solicited to declare publicly that the country was in danger, his reply was, "*Non jamais je ne ferai ma cour a la nation.*" This rooted habit of despotism alienated from him all those who might have indulged a hope of something like constitutional liberty under his sovereignty; whilst his harsh, overbearing, and violent demeanour, offended those who had immediate access to his person and councils.

Part of the corps belonging to Blucher's division crossed the Rhine, opposite Coblentz, on the night between January 1 and 2, occupied the town, took 7 pieces of cannon, and made 500 prisoners.

Generals count Langeron and D'Yorck passed at Kaub, marshal Blucher assisting in person, with very little resistance from the enemy. Langeron advancing on the 3rd, forced Bingen, a strong position, defended by a general of brigade, and made many prisoners, with a trifling loss, and then pushed his advanced posts to Salzbach. Blucher advanced to Kreutznach, and D'Yorck's advanced posts were directed upon Lauter. Baron Sacken's corps, after passing the Rhine, near Oppenheim, stormed a redoubt on January 1, taking 6 cannon and 700 prisoners; at which action the king of Prussia was present, and advanced upon Altzey. Bubna entered Geneva on the 30th of December, by a capitulation, which permitted the French governor to retire with the garrison, and that he had sent detachments towards Italy, and to the different points of strength, on the roads of the Simplon, St. Bernard and St. Gothard. Count Wittgenstein crossed near fort Louis, and occupied the evacuated forts of Vauban and Alsace, whence he could communicate by his right with marshal Blucher. General Wrede, with his army, had his head-quarters at Colmar, and the prince of Wirtemburg had blockaded New Brisac. Prince Schwartzenberg, with the main Austrian army, was on his march from Alterchen upon Montbelliard; whilst a detachment was observing Befort. The fortress of Huninguen was, at this time, under cannonade, but no material injury had hitherto been done to the works. Such was the line of frontier occupied by the allied powers, with troops, to which in number and appointment, the French had nothing to oppose. At this time Napoleon issued a decree, declaring the national guard of Paris in activity, and himself its commander-in-chief. By this decree, no substitute for its service was to be allowed, except the nearest relatives.

On the 13th, the emperor of Russia crossed the Rhine with the reserves of his army, accompanied by the king of Prussia. The emperor of Austria, who arrived at Basle on the preceding evening, went to

to meet the other sovereigns, and they entered that city on horeback, at the head of the Russian and Prussian guards. The columns of the allied army continued their advance on all sides. Prince Schwartzenburgh on the 12th had his head-quarters at Vesoul, and was on the advance to Langres. General Bubna's corps had a direction given it fom Dole towards Lyons. Besançon was invested by the corps of Lichtenstein. Wrede having proceeded through Alsace to St. Drey in Lorraine, his advanced guard was attacked on the 10th by the corps under Milliard, and forced to retire behind St. Marguerite. General De Roy, however, having assembled the forces under his command, attacked the French, overthrew them, took 500 prisoners, and St. Diez was recovered. The prince of Wirtemburg, in conjunction with the Hettman Platoff, also gained considerable advantages in the neighbourhood of Epinal. The army of Silesia advanced by a separate corps through the palatinate to northern Lorrain Marshal Marmont, who was posted at Kaiserlautern, retreated towards the Saare, pursued by the corps of Sachen, and after joining another retreating French corps from the Handspruck, passed that river at Saarbruck, destroying the bridge, and that of Saquemine, and possessed himself of the passes. In the mean time D'Yorck's corps took the road through St. Wendel to Saar Louis and Saarbruck. Count Henkel marching to Treves, took there 1000 prisoners, and a quantity of military stores. Count Langeron blockaded and summoned Mentz. On the 22d of January, a decree was published in the name of the emperor Napoleon, ordering the formation of 12 regiments of volunteers, 6 to be of voltigeurs, and 6 of trailleurs, of the young guard. At the same time a proclamation was issued by the municipality of Paris, calling upon the assistance of the Parisians to fly to the aid of the invaded provinces, and stating as the object of their exertions, " an honourable

peace, which shall maintain the integrity of France in its natural circuits; and above all, a speedy deliverance of the French territory."

The difficulties under which the finances laboured, was testified by a resolution of the general committee of the bank of France, limiting its payments to 500,000 francs daily, from the 20th instant. A favourable statement was given of its capital, and an increase of payment was promised in proportion to the realizing of the bills in the port-folio.

Prince Schwartzenberg, in order to secure the important passage of the Vosges mountains, advanced in force upon Langres, which town was occupied by a body of French foot-guards, under marshal Mortier, who, on his approach, retired to Chaumont. Langres was entered on the 17th, by Guillay, who took in it some cannon and prisoners. Blucher was at this time in possession of Nancy, the keys of which he sent to the grand head-quarters. The emperor of Russia, on receiving them, kept two for himself, and sent two to the king of Prussia, in token of equality of alliance and co-operation.

On the 25th the army of Silesia arrived in the vicinity of the Marne. On the same day, Napoleon set out from Paris, and proceeded to Chalons-sur-Marne, where he had collected an army of 70,000 men, and on which side Paris was most threatened by the army of Blucher. Napoleon, aroused from the lethargy he appeared to have fallen into, resumed that energy which marked his character, and which had so often rendered him successful, where success to common minds appeared impossible *. He employed every endea-

* If Napoleon Buonaparté had not possessed the greatest energy of mind, his other talents as a general and a statesman, would have availed him little in elevating him to the throne of France. Mr. Burke says, with justice, of a *legitimate* king of France, and the same nearly applies to a man who has once usurped that throne.—"Whoever claims a right by birth to govern there, must find in his breast, or must conjure up in

vour to animate the French people throughout France, and to augment his forces and supplies: he called upon the French to succour the French;" and by the most powerful declamations* endeavoured to excite that enthusiasm which his former successes had always inspired. He succeeded in creating a numerous army: and has, perhaps, thereby astonished Europe more, even than by the immense force he raised immediately after his disastrous campaign in Russia. He adopted a step he never before had recourse to, by dispatching counsellors of state into the military divisions of France, who were charged with accellerating the levies of the conscription; the clothing, equipment, and arming of the troops; the completing of the provisioning of fortresses; the levy of horses required for the service of his army; and the levy and organization of the national guards; and even the *levy-en-masse*. Having taken these steps, and given orders for concentrating his forces, Napoleon prepared to repel the united strength of the continental powers. Throughout his military career he has been placed by his ambition in situations of the utmost peril and uncertainty; but in none did the crisis of his fate ap-

it, an energy not to be expected, perhaps not always to be wished, in well-ordered states. The lawful prince must have in every thing, but in crime, the character of an usurper: he is gone, if he imagines himself the quiet possessor of a throne; he is to contend for it as much after an apparent conquest as before: his task is to win it; he must leave posterity to enjoy and adorn it. No velvet cushions for him—he is to be always (I speak nearly to the letter) on horseback."

* "Empires, like individuals, have their days of adversity and of prosperity; it is in great exigencies that great nations shew themselves.—No: the enemy shall not tear asunder this beautiful and noble France, which for these fourteen centuries has maintained itself with glory through such diversities of fortune; and which, for the interest of the neighbouring nations themselves, can always throw a considerable weight into the balance of Europe. We have for pledges your heroic firmness, and the national honour. We will fight for our dear country, between the tombs of our fathers, and the cradles of our infants."—*Address of the Senate.*

pear so near at hand as at this period. With no ally to aid him against an almost overwhelming force, he seemingly looked forward with confidence to the support of the French people, who, till 1812, had generally found the most astonishing successes crowning all his military enterprizes.

On the 26th of January, he arrived at Vitry. Marshal Blucher's army had passed the Marne, and was marching upon Troyes. On the following day, the latter entered Brienne, and was preparing to pass the Aube, when Buonaparté unexpectedly came up, attacked marshal Blucher's rear at St. Dizier, and drove it upon the main body. On the 28th, Buonaparté advanced upon Montierender. At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 29th, Brienne was attacked by the French. The attack was vigorously and ably conducted, and the resistance was equally so. Night put an end to the contest, and the allies, finding they could not maintain their position, prepared to retire. In the mean time a conflagration burst forth in the town, the flames of which, from the houses being principally of wood, spread with the greatest rapidity. The allies availing themselves of this event, endeavoured to retake the castle of Brienne; but after a considerable loss they were forced to retire. Prince Wirtemburg and count Giulay's corps were sent by prince Schwartzenberg to re-inforce marshal Blucher; who, being thus rendered nearly equal in point of numbers to Napoleon, prepared to give him battle, and to obtain the first success in a general affair on the territory of France.

On the 1st of February, Buonaparté had placed his army in two lines, extending across the plain from the front of Dienville; on the right, by the village of La Rotherie; towards Tremilly, on the left. He occupied the village of La Gibrie in front of the left, as well as the woods by which it is surrounded. General Marmont was placed at the village of Morvilliers in reserve. The French

likewise occupied the heights about the town of Brienne. The corps of marshal Blucher, consisting of general Sachen and part of general Langeron's divisions, had, on the preceding day, the 31st of January, taken up a position near Trames. The prince-royal of Wirtemberg was in possession at Maison, in communication with marshal Blucher's right. General Giulay's corps was formed on the great road between Trames and Dienville, and general Wrede, with his corps, marched upon Doulevent, from whence he was directed to advance to Chamneuil, upon the road by Tremilly. General Barclay de Tolly commanded the reserve, consisting of two divisions of Russian grenadiers, and a division of cuirassieurs, about 6,000 men, and which formed the support of the different corps. Skirmishing and cannonading in the plain were the preludes to the attack, which was commenced by marshal Blucher about twelve o'clock, by advancing the corps of general Giulay towards Dienville, and by forming in front of La Rothiere the divisions of his own corps. Nearly at the same time the prince royal of Wirtemberg advanced from his position at Maison upon La Gibrie; he met with a vigorous opposition from the French, who occupied in force the woods about that village, but finally succeeded in carrying it: and in an attempt afterwards made by the French to retake that post, they experienced a severe repulse. General Wrede arrived at the Prince's position towards the conclusion of this affair, and immediately advanced upon Tremilly, which he readily gained possession of. The successes of the prince of Wirtemberg and general Wrede's attacks secured general Sachen's right, and that officer consequently resolved on attacking the centre of the French position at La Rothiere. While his infantry were engaged in the attack of the village, marshal Blucher directed a charge of cavalry upon the right of it, which was attended with complete

success. The French was now driven from La Rothiere, and failed in all their attempts to retake it. Late in the evening general Giulay advanced upon Dienville, and succeeded in taking the part of that village on the right of the Aube. Napoleon, undismayed by his ill fortune, continued the action with great obstinacy till twelve at night. The re-occupation of the village of La Rothiere was his principal object, and he directed, in person, the attack of the young guards upon that place: but, baffled at all points, he was finally forced to a retreat, which commenced at one in the morning, upon Vitry, Troyes, and Arcis. In this battle the loss of the French was very considerable in killed and wounded: that of the allies was also very great. The latter took 73 pieces of cannon and about 4,000 prisoners. Napoleon retreated with his army in two columns, the right upon Lessmont, the left upon Laissicourt and Ronay. The cavalry of the allies harassed his covering troops, and executed several charges in the most handsome manner.

Hitherto the allies had been advancing in a career of almost uninterrupted success, and the great contest was approaching to a crisis which threatened ruin to the fortunes of the French emperor. In this emergence it cannot be said that he was wanting to himself, or that he manifested any decline of his former vigour and enterprize. Much inferior in physical force to his enemies, and faintly supported by the energies of a nation which he had ruled despotically, but which his name still held in awe, he was to make head against foes who pressed on him from different quarters, and by some brilliant actions, if possible, was to retrieve his military reputation, and avert the impending danger from the capital of his empire. Not able to oppose an adequate resistance to the advance of the allies in every point at once, it was his plan to concentrate his force at particular parts, and by striking home-blows successively, break their com-

munications and disconcert their measures. The report from Blucher's army on February the 8th, was, that the Field-marshal himself was to move forward on that day to Etoges; that Sacken was at Montmirial, with his advanced parties two leagues in front; general D'Yorck at Chateau-Thierry; and general Kleist at Chalons. On the 10th, Napoleon attacked a Russian division under general Alsufief, at Champ-Aubert; and according to the French account, captured or destroyed the whole, taking all their cannon and baggage. The statement of numbers, as usual, widely differs in the relations of the opposite parties, but that the stroke was severe, cannot be doubted. On the 12th, the French advancing against Blucher's army, were encountered by Sacken's corps, and three brigades of that of D'Yorck, and a severe engagement of several hours ensued, in which Napoleon in person commanded, at the head of his old guards and other detached corps. The result was, that both armies retained their positions, and Napoleon, instead of returning to Montmirail, bivouacked on the ground. On the next day, Sacken was at Chateau-Thierry, and it appears that he and D'Yorck afterwards quitted that place, and retired behind the Marne. The French account of this action speaks of a great capture of cannon and prisoners by the Emperor, with whom the advantage evidently rested. Blucher, at this time, was posted at Bergeres, whilst Marmont, with the 6th French corps, had taken the position of Etoges. On February the 13th, Blucher determined upon attacking Marmont, and for that purpose the advanced guard of Kleist's corps was sent forwards; but on its approach, Marmont gradually retreated, keeping up a brisk fire, and was pursued chiefly by the cossacks, beyond the village of Champ-Aubert. The Field-marshal halted there for the night, and the enemy bivouacked in front of Fromentiers.

On the morning of the 14th, it being announced

that Marmont was still retreating, Blucher resolved upon a further pursuit. He had under his orders only the corps of Kleist, and general Kapsiewitz's division of Langeron's corps. The French continued retreating, till he came near the village of Janvilliers, where a considerable body of cavalry was collected. He then suddenly rushed upon 6 advanced guns, and took possession of them, but they were recovered by the Prussian cavalry. From some prisoners made on the occasion, it was learnt that Napoleon himself was on the ground, with all his guards, and a large body of cavalry, having made a forced march in the night from Chateau-Thierry. Blucher's infantry was at this time advancing in columns on the open grounds on each side of the causeway leading through the village, when a great mass of the enemy's cavalry pushed forward, broke through the cavalry of the advanced guard, and dividing itself, attacked with great fury the columns of infantry. The columns formed into squares, and succeeded in repelling the enemy; but the numbers of the latter increasing, and bodies of cavalry being seen to move round on each flank, the Field-marshal resolved upon a retreat. The troops were disposed in the most skilful order for defence against the superior numbers by which they were vigorously assailed; and from Janvilliers to half way between Champ-Aubert and Etoges, a distance of nearly four leagues, it was a continued retiring combat. The most perfect order, however, was preserved by the retreating troops, and every charge was repelled. At sunset, a corps of the French cavalry, which had taken a circuit round the flanks, threw themselves into the line of retreat, and formed into a solid mass with the evident purpose of disputing the passage. Blucher was now entirely surrounded, and nothing was left but to break through his opponents. He instantly made his decision, and arranged his infantry for an attack. They opened a heavy fire upon the intercepting cavalry, which it was unable

to withstand, and the pasage was left free. Still the flanks and the retreating of the army, were assailed, but not a square or column was broken. At the approach of night, the French infantry succeeded to their cavalry in the attacks, and particularly in the village of Etoges threw a severe fire upon both flanks. Generals Kleist and Kapsiewitz, however, forced the way with their corps, and at length, without further molestation, reached the position of Bergeres, where they bivouacked for the night. The loss, acknowledged on their side, amounted to 3,500 men and 7 pieces of artillery. The French account of this action, however, boasts of much greater success. It asserts that several of the squares of the allies were broken; and carries their loss to 10,000 prisoners, 10 pieces of cannon, 10 colours, and a great number killed. That the check given to the army of Silesia was a very serious one, appeared from the necessity marshal Blucher found himself under of of retiring back as far as Chalons, with the complete interruption of his communication with the Austrians. At Chalons he waited for the junction of the dispersed parts of his force, which gradually took place, so that instead of its annihilation, according to the language of the French papers, it was in a few days in the condition of marching to renew its connection with the grand army. In the mean time, general Winzingerode had carried by assault the town of Soissons, in which he made prisoners 2 generals, and about 3000 men. and took 13 pieces of cannon. He moved thence to Rheims, from which it was his intention to join Blucher at Chalons.

While these events were taking place upon and near the Marne, prince Schwartzenberg was cooperating with the army of Silesa, by an advance upon Paris in the direction of the Seine. On February the 11th, the prince-royal of Wirtemberg summoned the commandant of Sens to surrender,

and upon his refusal, forced the barricades, and entered the place. He then directed his force on Pont-sur-Yonne, whence he marched to Bray. Count Hardegg on the 9th, attacked the rear of the French between Romilly and St. Hilaire, and drove it with some loss towards Nogent. Schwartzenberg having on the next day reconnoitred Nogent, directed another attack upon this rear-guard, in consequence of which it was obliged to retire into the town, and Hardegg pursuing the French thither, established himself in a part of the place. Wittgenstein having been directed to assemble his corps at Pont-sur-Seine, and Wrede to advance from Nogent towards Bray, the French abandoned the left bank of the Seine, and destroyed the bridges over that river. Schwartzenberg then determined to push these corps and that of the prince of Wirtemberg, to Provins and Villenax, ready to advance, if necessary, upon Napoleon's rear, or to protect the movements of that part of the army which was to act on the left of the Seine, towards Fontainbleau. On the 16th, the Austrian corps under Hardegg and Thurn, and the cossacks of Platoff, had succeeded in reducing Fontainbleau, where they took a general, some cannon, and prisoners. But the allied arms on this side also were now to experience a reverse. Napoleon having succeeded in driving back Blucher, in pursuance of his plan, turned his force against Schwartzenberg; and on February the 17th, fell in with a large body of cavalry upon the advanced guard of Wittgenstein's corps, which was posted at Nangis, under the command of count Pahlen. The result of the action was, that this advanced guard was beaten back with a considerable loss of men and artillery; and in consequence, Schwartzenberg thought it prudent to withdraw the greater part of his army across the Seine. He still, however, kept possession of the bridge over that river at Montereau, Bray, and Nogent. On the 18th, the two former posts were

vigorously attacked, but without effect; and the prince of Wirtemberg, who commanded at Montereau, not only repulsed three attacks, but took prisoners and cannon. Late in the evening, however, the French renewed the assault with such an augmented force, that the Prince was driven across the river, and so closely pressed, that he had not time to destroy the bridge. He retreated towards Bray, and a considerable part of the French force passed the river after him. The final result was, that Schwartzenberg withdrew the grand army from its positions on the Seine, and established his head-quarters at Troyes.

The army of Silesia being restored to marching condition, advanced on February the 21st to Meri on the Seine, purposing to form the right wing of the grand army at Troyes. It was there attacked from the left side of the river by a large force under marshal Oudinot, upon which marshal Blucher made immediate preparations to burn the bridge, which connects the two parts of the town, and to defend the part on the right bank. By some accident, however, the town was set on fire, which rendered its defence impracticable; and the rapid advance of the French saved the bridge from being so far injured as to destroy the communication. The small party left in the town was obliged, after a firing of some hours, to give way to the French, who crossed the bridge. In the mean time Blucher had drawn up his army in two lines on a plain, and three battalions of the French having pushed forward to make a passage for the rest of their troops, they were driven back over the bridge, leaving some wounded and prisoners behind. Intelligence being received that Marmont was marching in force from Sezanne towards Chalons, Blucher on the 24th crossed the Aube with his whole army, and followed Marmont, who continued his route to Ferté sous Jouarre on the Marne. On arriving at Rebais, Blucher was informed that marshal Mor-

tier, with the young guard, had marched from Chateau-Thierry to make a junction with Marmont; and it being probable that Napoleon, hearing of the march of the army of Silesia in this direction, would detach a force to the rear of it, the passage of the Marne, in face of the united troops of Mortier and Marmont, became a matter of delicacy. The plan therefore was adopted of directing the corps of Sacken and Langeron to march by Coulomiers upon Meaux, whilst those of D'Yorck and Kleist were to proceed to Ferté-sous-Jouarre. The result was, that the two French marshals precipitately quitted that town, and that the passage of the Marne was effected without difficulty. Sacken's advanced guard occupied the suburbs of Meaux on the left bank of the river. On February the 23rd, the French troops with Napoleon invested Troyes on all sides, and a Russian aid-de-camp came to the advanced posts to demand time for evacuating the city, otherwise it would be set on fire. This threat arrested the movements of the French, and Troyes was evacuated during the night. Napoleon entered it in the morning; and according to the French accounts, there were taken in the city 2,000 prisoners, besides 1,000 wounded in the hospital. This recovery of the capital of Champagne was a cause of no small triumph; and the spirits of the Parisians were further supported by the presentation in grand procession to the Empress, of the colours taken from the allies.

Napoleon displayed his apprehensions at this time in a decree issued at Troyes, by which he ordered that every Frenchman who had accompanied the armies of the allied powers in this invasion of the empire, should, without delay, be summoned before his courts and tribunals, and condemned to the penalties inflicted by the laws, and his property confiscated; and that every Frenchman who had worn the badges of the decorations of the ancient dynasty in places occupied by the

enemy, should be declared a traitor, and condemned to death, with confiscation of property, by a military commission.

The French troops assembled near Lyons under the orders of marshal Augereau, commenced offensive operations about this time, and advanced to Macon and Bourg. The corps of general Bianchi was sent by prince Schwartzenberg to oppose them. The town of Barsur-Aube having been taken possession of by the enemy, general Wrede was dispatched to re-take it, which he effected on the 26th. The French, however, recovered it, but the suburbs remained in the occupation of the Bavarians. On the 27th, Schwartzenberg attacked the enemy on the road to Vaudœuvre, and after a severe action, drove them from all their positions on that side the Aube. The prince of Wirtemburg and general Guillay succeeded in obtaining possession of La Ferté and Clairvoux. On the same day Napoleon's guards had attacked Tettenborn, who was posted at Fere Champenoise, and obliged him to retire to Vertus. Napoleon himself was at Arcis, and a considerable corps of his army was marching upon Sezanne.

The operations of Schwartzenberg's army were preludes to the recovery of Troyes, general Frimont, after various affairs with the rear-guard of the French army, established his head-quarters at Vaudœuvre. The prince of Wirtemberg, who obtained possession of Bar sur-Seine on March the 1st, followed the retreat of the enemy to La Maison Blanche on the 2d. By a reconnoissance on that day it was ascertained, that the French army was in possession along the Barce, on the right of the Seine, and at Maison Blanche on the left of it. An attack was determined on by Schwartzenberg on the 3d. Its details are not intelligible without a local map; but the result was, that marshal Oudinot was compelled to retreat with a loss of 10 pieces of cannon, 54 officers, and 3,000 prisoners. Generals Wittgenstein and Wrede particularly

distinguished themselves in this action. The latter advanced upon the enemy on the 4th, who upon being summoned to surrender Troyes, capitulated on being allowed half an hour to evacuate it. As soon as that was expired, Schwartzenberg directed all his cavalry to pursue on the road to Nogent; Napoleon was at this time marching against Blucher; and Schwartzenberg dispatched Platoff to move upon Sezanne, in order to harass his rear.

It will be proper to mention, that plenipotentiaries from the different belligerent powers had been sitting at Chatillon during these hostile operations, for the purpose of establishing a basis for a general peace.

The peace with Denmark had enabled the prince-royal of Sweden to direct his victorious steps to the Rhine, and to give the support of his auxiliary troops to the grand undertaking of the allies in France. Accordingly, general Benningsen was left with 30,000 men to form the siege of Hamburg, and 5,000 of the Russian-German legion to blockade Harburg, whilst the remainder moved forward to the principal scene of action. On the 10th of February, he crossed the Rhine, with the intention of marching the whole army under his orders, upon a line between Soissons and Rheims, and then to act according to circumstances. On the 12th, he issued an address to the French nation, on being in their country in hostility to the government:—

TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

"FRENCHMEN!

"At the command of my King I have taken up arms for the purpose of defending the rights of the Swedish people. After having revenged the insults which they had suffered, and assisted in effecting the liberation of Germany, I have passed the Rhine. At the moment when I again see this river, on the borders of which I have so often and so successfully fought for you, I feel the necessity of again apprising you of my sentiments. The government under which you live, has continually had in view to treat you with contempt, in order that it might debase you; it is high time that this state of things

undergo an alteration. All enlightened people express their wishes for the welfare of France; but they at the same time wish that she may no longer be the scourge of the earth. The allied Monarchs have not united themselves to make war upon the people, but to force your government to acknowledge the independence of other states; this is their sole motive and aim, and I will pledge myself for the integrity of their sentiments. Adopted son of Charles XIII. and placed, by the choice of a free people, at the foot of the throne of the Gustavuses, I can henceforward be animated with no other ambition, than that of securing the happiness of the Scandinavian peninsula; and at the same time, my principal happiness will consist (after having fulfilled this sacred duty to my adopted country) in securing the future happiness of my former countrymen. Given at my head-quarters at Cologne, this 12th of February, 1818."

(Signed) CHARLES JOHN.

Much specious argument is here made use of to induce the French nation to view with a favorable eye the actions of one who had moved among them, and risen from an obscure situation of life to that of heir to the throne of a respectable nation, and that entirely through the support of the Ruler of that people, whom he now calumniates as a destroyer of their liberties. What should we say of an individual who had by force possessed himself of his neighbour's property, because it made his own more compact and valuable: yet this was the case with Charles John, with respect to the kingdom of Norway; he possessed the power, and therefore annexed that country to his own, entirely against the will of its inhabitants, for no other reason, than that it concentrated his dominions, and made it a more formidable state; by that means sacrificing the feelings of its inhabitants and weakening the power of Denmark. He seemed to be aware of his awkward situation, as he never combated on the French soil; but shortly afterwards moved his head-quarters to Liege*, where he

* The conduct of his Royal Highness, for his stay at Liege, having been censured by the English, the following were assigned as reasons for his so acting: at the time of the meeting of the congress at Chatillon, Sweden, as an active party in the grand coalition, expected to be invited to send a plenipoten-

remained, contenting himself by sending some of his detachments into the Netherlands, and aiding in the expulsion of the Freneh from Holland—He wrote to general Carnot, governor of Antwerp, acquainting him with the deposition of Napoleon, and proposing to him to surrender his fortress, and join the allied troops: that distinguished person, who can only be paralleled by the republican officers who served under Cromwell, returned for answer, that he commanded at Antwerp, in the name of the French government, which alone had a right to fix the duration of his office, and the orders of which he should obey when incontestably established on its new base. On April the 18th, he published a proclamation to his soldiers, informing them that the wishes of the nation being fully declared in favour of the restoration of the Bourbons, it became their duty to acknowledge them; and he concluded by an oath in his name, and those of the other commanders, to defend Antwerp to the last extremity in the name of Louis XVIII.

Had not the overthrow of Napoleon followed so speedily, the coalition was composed of such discordant elements, that before another campaign had ended, in all probability we should have seen more than one of the powers again ranged under the imperial standard of France.

The relics of the war in Germany consisted in the operations of the allied troops, which were em-

tiary; this did not happen. The Prince-Royal remonstrated, but no resolution was taken. The Hanseatic legion, formed in a great measure by the care of his Royal Highness, and paid by England, was (according to conventions that were made) to be united with the Swedish troops under the Prince's immediate command. Far from this, at the moment when these troops were to act, they received another destination, and were employed with the corps under general Bulow. The Prince having represented that these new arrangements were contrary to the convention already made, and having received no satisfactory answer, declared, that neither he nor his troops should take any active part in the operations till he had obtained what he had demanded.

ployed in the investment and siege of those towns which were still occupied by French garrisons. The unfortunate city of Hamburgh was still suffering under the insolent severity of marshal Davoust's precautionary measures, one of which was the appointment of a commission, having the power of condemning to death all persons who even used "inflammatory speeches to exasperate the soldiers against their commanders, or the inhabitants against the lawful powers, or against the troops." Dantzic was evacuated on January the 2d, according to capitulation, by which the French garrison remained prisoners of war. It was entered on the same day by duke Alexander of Wirtemburg, at the head of 16,000 Russians and Prussians, amidst the general rejoicing of the inhabitants whom he delivered from the sufferings of their long siege. The fortress of Wittenburg was carried by storm on the night of January 12th, under the direction of general Tauenzien. After the town was taken, the governor retired to the castle; but being summoned under the threat of putting the garrison to the sword, he surrendered at discretion. The loss to the assailants was inconsiderable. The French prisoners were to be sent to Berlin.

In Italy the contest between the Austrians and the French was maintained with considerable vigour on both sides. Count Bellegarde, the Austrian general, on passing the Adige, addressed a proclamation to the people of Italy, in which he mentioned the resolution of the king of Naples to join the arms of the allies. It was one of the most decisive symptoms of the opinion entertained of Napoleon's approaching decline, that this sovereign of his own creation, his favourite fellow-soldier, connected with him by ties of kindred, should think it necessary, for his own security, to join the general confederacy against him. In the beginning of the year, a treaty of alliance was concluded between the emperor of Austria and the

king of Naples, by the terms of which the Emperor engaged to keep at least 50,000 men in Italy, and the King 20,000, till the end of the war, to act in concert, and to be augmented in case of necessity; and the former guaranteed to the latter and his heirs, the possession of the dominions actually held by him in Italy, and promised his mediation to induce the allies to accede to this guarantee. The king of Naples in consequence arrived at Bologna, whither count Bellegarde, on January the 6th, went to pay his compliments to him.

The French on the 4th quitted Verona, leaving a garrison in the old castle, and the Austrians on the same day entered the town. The viceroy of Italy, Eugene Beauharnois, marched on the 7th with the flower of his troops, on the side of Bozzolo, on the Mincio, to oppose the passage of that river by the Austrians. A division and some battalions had already passed, when they were attacked by superior numbers. The whole of that day and the next passed in severe actions, in which the Austrians underwent considerable loss, but are represented as maintaining their ground. Their main army did not come up till the 9th, when it was established to the number of between 40 and 50,000 men on both banks of the Mincio.

CHAP. XLII.

Advance of Blucher.—Napoleon's attempt to recover Soissons.—Blucher retreats to Laon, and is there attacked.—Rheims taken by the Russians.—Negociation.—Declaration of the Allies on the breaking off the Negociation.—Their Advance.—Attack of the Heights of Paris.—Armistice.—Its Capitulation, and Entrance of the Allies.

IN the last chapter we left Napoleon making a second advance against that part of the allied force which was commanded by marshal Blucher, the antagonist whose spirit and enterprize rendered him peculiarly an object of alarm, the general on whom the sovereigns seemed to have placed the greatest confidence, as the best calculated to counteract his military tactics. This force effected a junction, on 3rd. of March, with the corps of Winzingerode and Bulow, at Soissons,* and on the next day, the field-marshal, to whom the command of the whole had been entrusted, took up a position, on an extensive plateau, to the left, and in the rear of the town of Soissons, with his right close to the village of Laffaux, and his left near Craone. The town of Soissons was defended by 10,000 Russian infantry, of the corps of Langeron, under the orders of general Rudzewich. On the 5th, soon after day light, the attack was commenced by the French; they succeeded in obtaining possession of the greater part of the suburbs, and twice attacked the town itself, on opposite sides, with heavy columns; but were both times repulsed with slaughter and loss: they unroofed the houses from that part of the suburbs in their

* This town was in a condition to have defended itself, as it had 20 pieces of cannon mounted, with a considerable number of troops. It unaccountably surrendered by capitulation, on the 3rd; at the moment when the allied commander thought himself lost. Had this city made the resistance it was capable of, and of which Napoleon reckoned, in all probability the army of Winzingerode would have been destroyed, and field marshal Blucher must have been defeated.

possession, and kept up a constant fire upon the troops on the walls of the town, until night put a termination to the contest.

Napoleon had entrusted the operations of the 5th to the divisions of Mortier and Marmont. In the morning of the 6th, the French gave up the contest and retired, and Buonaparté was moving to his right. In the afternoon of that day, he effected the passage of his army across the Aisne at Bery-le-bac, and at about two o'clock in the afternoon commenced an attack on the left of the position occupied by the field-marshal's army near Craone. At the same time strong columns of the French were observed to be marching towards Laon by the way of Corbeny.

A corps of 10,000 cavalry, under Winzingerode, Blucher directed to march by the way of Cherevigny and Presle, and throw itself in the line of the French communications across the road from Corbury to Laon; Bulow, with 20,000 men, was directed to march and occupy Laon; the corps of D'Yorck, Kleist, and Sachen, were ordered to incline towards the infantry of Winzingerode, which sustained the extremity of the position near the villages of St. Martin and Craone. Under cover of the wood of Corbeny, the French made their approaches, and sent forward large bodies of skirmishers, supported by artillery, but were repulsed, and the firing ceased with the night.

On the morning of 7th, the French had desisted from their march upon Laon, when Blucher directed the corps of D'Yorck and Kleist, to move across the river Delette, in the direction of Presle and Lenilly, to sustain the movement of the cavalry under Winzingerode, and together with the corps of general Bulow, make an attack on the right of the French, should he push forward against the point occupied by the infantry of Winzingerode near Craone. Baron Sachen was ordered to the support of the latter, and to attempt to turn their left should they make an attack on the other side.

If pushed by a superior force, he was directed to fall back on the road to Laon, and draw in the garrison of Soissons.

The French began the attack at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, with their whole force, amounting to 60,000 men, against the point where Winzingerode's infantry were posted; Blucher immediately rode to the spot where the cavalry was supposed to be formed, to direct the operations in that quarter; but unexpected difficulties had opposed the march of the cavalry during the night, and it was found to have advanced no farther than Presle. Kleist's infantry, which had marched in the morning, reached Feticia; but the advanced guard of the cavalry alone had come up, and it became impossible to undertake, with effect, the movement which he had projected against the right of the French. The corps posted near Craone, was in the mean time exposed to a most severe and powerful attack. Strogonoff and Woronzoff defended this position with the most determined obstinacy, who, however, being at length obliged to retire, fell back with admirable order to Laon. Blucher next took up a position in front of Laon, the elevated plateau on which the town itself is situated, being occupied by the corps of Bulow. In this position the field-marshal was again assailed, under cover of a thick fog, before day-light in the morning of the 9th. The density of the atmosphere concealed all the movements of the French, and they obtained possession of the villages of Semilly and Ardon, close under the town, and which may be regarded as its suburbs. The musketry reached the walls of the town, and continued, without intermission, until about eleven o'clock, when the fog began to disperse. The French were now in force behind the villages of Semilly and Lemilly, with columns of infantry and cavalry posted on the chausée towards Soissons, they also occupied the village of Ardon. As soon as the fog had dispersed, they

were driven from Semilly, and Blucher directed the cavalry from the rear to advance and turn their left flank. Woronzoff, who was on the right of the field-marshal's position, advanced at the same time with his infantry, pushed forward two battalions of Yagers, which drove in their posts, sustained a charge of cavalry, and maintained themselves in an attitude to keep the French in check until the cavalry could advance. A part of Bulow's corps was also ordered to advance against the village of Ardon, from which the French, after sustaining a fire for about half an hour, was compelled to retreat. Whilst the cavalry of the allies was taking a circuit round from the rear, and at about two o'clock in the afternoon, the French were observed to be advancing a column of 16 battalions of infantry, with cavalry and artillery, along the chausée from Rheims. D'Yorck was directed to oppose him, and Sachen ordered to D'Yorck's support. At this quarter the battle became most general and decisive. The French opened a formidable battery of 43 pieces of cannon, and advanced in a firm and undaunted manner; they formed a column of attack, and were moving forward to the village of Althies, when Prince Wiliam of Prussia, who was advancing to the village at the same time, met them half way and overthrew them. The French now began to retreat. It was at first executed in good order, but the allies pressing them warmly, confusion ensued, and the retreat was converted into flight; they were as far as Corbeny, losing artillery, baggage, and prisoners, by the way. On the right no particular advantages were obtained beyond the expulsion of the French from the villages they had gained possession of in the morning: Woronzoff, towards the close of the day, again attacked them with the greatest vigour, but they had large masses opposed to him, and the ground presented difficulties against the active co-operation of his cavalry. Notwithstanding the discomfiture experienced by the right of Napoleon's

army on the 9th, he renewed and continued his attack with the rest of his force during the whole of the succeeding day. The plain, below the city of Laon, was interspersed with villages and small woods, which soon became the scene of very obstinate contests. A wood near the village of Clacy was taken and re-taken four different times, and remained finally in the possession of the allies. The infantry of Winzingerode's corps, under the command of Woronzoff, were the troops there engaged. In the centre and left of the position, the French maintained themselves; and at about half an hour before sun-set they advanced a body of skirmishers, supported by two battalions of infantry, (the rest of the army remaining in reserve) and attacked the village of Semilly close under the walls of the town; but a battalion of Prussians, of Bulow's corps, threw itself in the road, and supported by the fire of the troops from each flank, compelled them to retire in disorder and with loss.

Thus terminated the attacks of two succeeding days, of as sanguinary engagements as any recorded in this history. The superiority of numbers, with the advantage of position, triumphed over the valour and perseverance of Napoleon and his generals; and he was obliged, during the night of the 16th, to retire towards Soissons, pursued by the cavalry of Blucher's advanced guard. The absence of the corps of D'Yorck, Kleist, and Sachen, which were pursuing the remainder of the troops that had advanced from Rheims, and which could not be recalled in time, prevented any active offensive operations on the second of these days. The advantages resulting to the allies were the capture of 4,000 prisoners, a great quantity of ammunition and baggage, and 45 pieces of cannon. The loss of the artillery was felt severely by Napoleon.

On the 12th, the Russian general St. Priest, marching from Chalons, surprized Rheims; the next day Napoleon marched for its recovery.

While these grand and striking military operations were passing, pacific overtures were still in discussion between Caulincourt, on the part of Napoleon; on that of the allies by Counts Stadion and Rasumowski, Lord Castlereagh and Baron Humboldt.

Napoleon, during the discussion, having acquired some partial successes in the field, the negociations suddenly assumed a different aspect. The allies presented to the French minister the projet of a preliminary treaty, the main object of which was the restoration of a balance of power—this projet had been even before proposed by Napoleon, but fourteen days elapsed without any answer being given to the allies. They then insisted on a day being fixed for a determination of the negociations, or for receiving a contre projet from the French minister. The 10th of March was appointed. Further delays occurred, and on the 15th, a contre projet was presented to the allies, demanding nothing less than Italy, the Rhenish frontier, the Netherlands, Nimiguen, part of the Waal, and indemnities for all the members of his family.—That there was something of importance in these demands, appears probable, from his requiring no discussion of them, but by ordering his minister back again at once upon their delivery. The allied forces from that moment seemed to have acted upon extremities against him, and an end was put to the negociations by the following

DECLARATION

Of the ALLIED POWERS, *on the breaking off the Negociations at* CHATILLON.

"The Allied Powers owe it to themselves, to their people, and to France, as the negociations at Chatillon are broken off, publicly to declare the reasons which induced them to enter into negociations with the French government, as well as the causes of the breaking off of the negociations. Military events, to which history can produce no parallel, overthrew, in the month of October last, the ill-constructed edifice known by the name of the French empire: an edifice erected on the ruins of states, lately independent and happy, augmented by

conquests from ancient monarchies, and held together at the expence of the blood, of the fortune, of the welfare of a whole generation. The Allied Sovereigns, led by conquest to the Rhine, thought it their duty to proclaim to Europe anew, their principles, their wishes, and their object. Far from every wish of domination or conquest, animated solely by the desire to see Europe restored to a just balance of the different powers, resolved not to lay down their arms till they had obtained the noble object of their efforts; they made known the irrevocableness of their resolutions by a public act, and they did not hesitate to declare themselves to the enemy's government in a manner conformable to their unalterable determination. The French government made use of the frank declarations of the Allied Powers to express inclinations to peace. It certainly had need of the appearance of this inclination, in order to justify in the eyes of its people, the new exertions which it did not cease to require. But every thing however, convinced the Allied cabinets, that it merely endeavoured to take advantage of the appearance of a negociation, in order to prejudice public opinion in its favour, but that the peace of Europe was very far from its thoughts. The powers, penetrating its secret views, resolved to go and conquer in France itself, the long-desired peace. Numerous armies crossed the Rhine; scarcely were they passed the first frontier, when the French minister for foreign affairs appeared at the out-posts. All the proceedings of the French government had henceforth no other object than to mislead opinion, to blind the French people, and to throw on the Allies the odium of all the miseries attendant on an invasion. The course of events had given the Allies a proof of the full power of the European league. The principles which, since their first union for the common good, had animated the counsels of the Allied Sovereigns, were fully developed: nothing more hindered them from unfolding the conditions of the re-construction of the common edifice; these conditions must be such as were no hindrance to peace after so many conquests. The only power calculated to throw into the scale indemnifications for France, England could speak openly respecting the sacrifices which it was ready to make for a general peace. The Allied Sovereigns were permitted to hope that the experience of the late events would have had some influence on a conqueror, exposed to the observation of a great nation, which was, for the first time, witness, in the capital itself, to the miseries he had brought on France. This experience might have convinced that the support of thrones is principally dependant on moderation and probity. The Allied Powers, however, convinced that the trial which they made must not endanger the military operations, saw that these operations must be continued during the negociations. The experience of the past, and afflicting recollection, shewed them the necessity of this

step. Their plenipotentiaries met those of the French government. Meantime the victorious armies approached the gates of the capital. The government took every method to prevent it falling into our hands. The plenipotentiary of France received orders to propose an armistice, upon conditions which were similar to those which the Allies themselves judged necessary for the restoration of a general peace. He offered the immediate surrender of the fortresses in the countries which France was to give up, on condition of a suspension of military operations. The Allied courts, convinced by twenty years experience, that in negociations with the French cabinet it was necessary carefully to distinguish the apparent from the real intention, proposed, instead of this, immediately to sign preliminaries of peace. This measure would have had, for France, all the advantages of an armistice, without exposing the Allies to the danger of a suspension of arms. Some partial advantages, however, accompanied the first motions of an army collected under the walls of Paris, composed of the flower of the present generation; the last hope of the nation, and the remainder of a million of warriors, who, either fallen on the field of battle, or left on the way from Lisbon to Moscow, have been sacrificed for interests with which France has no concern. Immediately the negociations at Chatillon assumed another appearance. The French plenipotentiary remained without instructions, and went away instead of answering the representatives of the Allied courts. They commissioned their plenipotentiaries to give in the projet of a preliminary treaty, containing all the grounds which they deemed necessary for the restoration of the balance of power, and which a few days before had been presented by the French government itself, at a moment, doubtless, when it conceived its existence in danger. It contained the ground work for the restoration of Europe. France restored to the frontiers, which, under the government of its kings, had insured to it ages of glory and prosperity, was to have, with the rest of Europe, the blessings of liberty, national independence, and peace. It depended absolutely on its government to end, by a single word, the sufferings of the nation; to restore to it with peace, its colonies, its trade, and the restitution of its industry. What did it want more! The Allies now offered, with a spirit of pacification, to discuss its wishes upon the subject of mutual convenience, which should extend the frontiers of France beyond what they were before the wars of the revolution. Fourteen days elapsed without any answer being returned by the French government. The plenipotentiaries of the Allies insisted on the fixing a day for the acceptance or rejection of the conditions of peace. They left the French plenipotentiary the liberty to present a contre projet, on condition that this contre projet should agree in spirit, and in its general contents, with the conditions proposed by the Allied courts. The 10th of March

was fixed, by the mutual consent of both parties. This term being arrived, the French plenipotentiary produced nothing but pieces, the discussion of which, far from advancing the proposed object, could only have caused fruitless negociations. A delay of a few days was granted, at the desire of the French plenipotentiary. On March the 15th, he at last delivered a contre projet, which left no doubt that the sufferings of France had not yet changed the views of its government. The French government seceding from what it had itself proposed, demanded, in a new projet, that nations, which were quite foreign to France, which a domination of many ages could not have amalgamated with the French nation, should now remain a part of it; that France should retain frontiers inconsistent with the fundamental principles of equilibrium, and out of all proportion with the other great powers of Europe; that it should remain master of the same positions and points of aggression, by means of which its government, to the misfortune of Europe and that of France, had effected the fall of so many thrones, and so many revolutions; that members of the family reigning in France should be placed on foreign thrones; the French government, in short, that government which, for so many years, has sought to rule no less by discord than by force of arms, was to remain the arbiter of the external concerns of the powers of Europe. By continuing the negociations under such circumstances, the Allies would have neglected what they owed to themselves; they would from that moment have deviated from the glorious goal they had before them; their efforts would have been turned solely against their people. By signing a treaty upon the principles of the French projet, the Allies would have laid their arms in the hands of the common enemy: they would have betrayed the expectations of nations, and the confidence of their Allies. It is in a moment so decisive for the welfare of the world, that the Allied Sovereigns renew this solemn engagement, till they have attained the great object of their union. France has to blame its government alone for all its suffering. Peace alone can heal the wounds which a spirit of universal dominion, unexampled in history, has produced. This peace shall be the peace of Europe; no other can be accepted. It is at length time that princes should watch over the welfare of the people without foreign influence: that nations should respect their mutual independence: that social institutions should be protected from daily revolution; property respected, and trade free. All Europe has absolutely the same wish to make France participate in the blessings of peace.—France, whose dismemberment the Allied Powers neither can nor will permit. The confidence in their promises may be found in the principles for which they contend. Then whence shall the Sovereigns infer that France will take part in the principles that must fix the happiness of the world, so long

as they see that the same ambition which has brought so many misfortunes on Europe, is still the sole spring that actuates the government; that while French blood is shed in torrents, the general interest is always sacrificed to private. Whence, under such circumstances, should be the guarantee for the future, if such a desolating system found no check in the general will of the nation? Then is the peace of Europe insured, and nothing shall in future be able to disturb it."

Every hope of accommodation being annihilated, marshal Blucher was joined at Laon on the 16th, by the corps of general St. Priest, who after a warm and obstinate resistance had been driven out of Rheims, with the loss of 2,000 men, and 8 pieces of cannon. On the 18th, he put his whole force in motion. On the 19th, directed generals Woronzoff, Tchernicheff, and Benkendorff, with their corps, to carry Rheims. These officers attacked the town in the most determined manner, and succeeded in their object. Napoleon retired to Chalons and Epernay. In the meanwhile prince Schwartzenberg, who, on the 15th, had his head-quarters at Pont-sur-Seine, resolved to support the Prussian chief, by advancing upon Chalons; he took up a position at Menil la Comtesse, before Arcis-sur-Abe, where the French had assembled a considerable force. On the 21st, an attempt was made to prevent his junction with marshal Blucher; it however failed, and Napoleon withdrew towards Vitry, leaving at Arcis a strong rear-guard. This place was instantly attacked by the prince-royal of Wirtemberg, and carried after a gallant defence.

Having failed in his attempt to debouch from Plancy and Arcis, across the Aube, and abandoned his ideas of attacking prince Schwartzenberg at Menil la Comtesse, Napoleon was guided in his next operations by the desire of preventing the junction of the armies of prince Schwartzenberg and marshal Blucher. Did he not succeed to the utmost in his object, it was evidently his best policy to force their union and their communications as far to the rear, and make it as circuitous as possible. It was further manifest, by intercepted let-

ters, that he was of opinion, that the movement he determined upon the right of prince Schwartzenberg, might induce him to fall back towards the Rhine, for fear of losing his communications,—that he thus would be able to relieve his places, and be in a better condition to cover Paris. It generally occurs, that manœuvres are made with the advance, or the head of an army, but Napoleon, in his present undertaking, pushed his object so far, by the passage of the Aube, with his whole army, near Vitry, as to have left himself completely open to that bold and magnificent decision which was immediately adopted. He put his whole army in motion on the evening of the 21st, for Vitry. That night he remained at Sommepuis; on the following day his advanced corps arrived at Vitry, and summoned the place. It had been placed in a tolerable state of defence, and it had a garrison of between 3 and 4,000 Prussians. Marshal Ney endeavoured by every menace, to obtain a surrender; but the brave Prussian colonel resolutely refused, and held the town, which reduced the French commander to cross the Marne by bridges constructed near Frignicourt. Napoleon here passed his whole army on the 23rd and 24th, and it was immediately ascertained to have taken the direction of Saint Dizier. Three objects might be now in his view. By the movements round the right of the allies to force them back; if this failed, to operate upon their communications, and even proceed to form a junction with marshal Augereau; or finally by moving to his fortresses of Metz, &c. prolong the war by resisting on a new line, while he placed the allies in the centre of France, having taken the best precautions in his power for the defence of his capital.

The allies, on the 22d, having crossed to the right of the Aube, lost no time in adopting the bold resolution of forming the junction of the two armies to the westward, thus placing themselves be-

tween the French army and Paris, and proceeding with a united force of at least 200,000 men to the capital of the French empire. In order the better to mask this movement, the march of the allied army was made from Pougy, Lesmont, and Arcis, on Vitry; and his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia, by two extraordinary marches of 18 and 12 leagues, established his head-quarters with those of the Field Marshal, at Vitry, on the 24th. A brilliant capture of several pieces of cannon, 1,500 prisoners, and a large number of caissons, was made by general Augerawski, of the calvary of the Russian guard, on the 23rd; and on this day and the preceding, several advanced guard affairs took place between general Wrede's corps, the prince of Wirtemberg, and the French.

On the 25th, the combined army marched in three columns to Fere Champenoise. The corps of Marmont, Mortier, and Arrighi, which had been retiring from before Marshal Blucher, moved towards Vitry to connect themselves with the operations of Napoleon, and to their surprise found themselves close to the army of Schwartzenberg, when they were expecting to meet their own. They were immediately attacked, and driven back with great loss of baggage, cannon, and prisoners. On the same day a column of 5000 men, under general Ames, which had brought from Paris a great convoy of provision and ammunition for Napoleon's army, was discovered and attacked by the allied cavalry. The column, though consisting of young troops and national guards, defended itself with great gallantry, and when completely surrounded, continued marching on in squares and firing; nor did they submit to surrender, till a battery of Russian artillery opened upon them, and they were broken by repeated charges of cavalry. The whole, with their cannon and the convoy, then fell into the hands of the assailants. Generals D'Yorck and Kleist, who had moved from Montmirail on la Ferté Gaucher's, contributed to the overthrow of the French army,

which was diminshed by a third of its numbers, with the loss of almost all its artillery. The grand army continued to advance, and on the 27th its head-quarters were at Coulomiers. Intelligence was now received from Winzingerode and Czernicheff, who were harrassing Napoleon's rear with a large body of calvary and cannon, that he was marching back with great precipitation towards the capital, by Bar-sur-Aube and Troyes. On the 28th Blucher passed the Marne at Meaux and at Triport with considerable opposition. Part of Mortier's corps retreating through Meaux, broke down the bridge, and without giving any notice to the inhabitants, blew up a vast magazine of powder, the explosion of which did great injury to the place.—D'Yorck advancing to Claye, had a sharp action with the enemy's rear, in which he lost some hundreds of men, but succeeded at length in driving them from the woods about that place. The alarm was now hot in Paris. The nominal king Joseph, whom his brother had constituted his lieutenant-general, issued a proclamation, in which he acquainted the Parisians with the allies advance to Meaux, and urged them with the defence of their city, assuring them that the Emperor was marching with a victorious army to their succour.

On the 29th, the corps of Marmont and Mortier entered Paris, in which a garrison had been previously assembled consisting of part of general Gerard's corps, and a body of about 8000 regular troops, and 30,000 national guards under, general Hulin. The allies at this time had their right towards Montmartre, and their left near the wood of Vicennes.—Prince Schwartzenberg now addressed a proclamation to the people of Paris, in which he acquainted them with the presence of the allied armies before their city, their object being a sincere and lasting reconciliation with France. "The attempts he said) hitherto made to put an end to so many calamities have been useless, because their exists in the very power of government which oppresses you an

insurmountable obstacle to peace." After other hints of the expectation of the allied powers, that the Parisians would declare in favor of a "salutary authority," and a reference to the conduct of Bourdeaux, he concluded with an assurance that the preservation and tranquility of their city would be attended to by the allies, in conjunction with their own principal citizens, and that no troops should be quartered upon them. Another conflict however still remained before the final decision of Napoleon's fate. On the morning of March 30th, the French army under the command of Joseph Buonaparté, assisted by marshals Marmont and Mortier, took a position in which its right occupied the heights of Fontenay, Romainville, and Belleville, its left rested upon Montmartre, its centre was protected by several redoubts, and in the whole line were ranged more than 150 pieces of artillery. An attack was immediately determined on by the allies, in which the Silesian army was to advance by the side of St. Denis and Montmartre, and the grand army was to force the hights of Romainville and Bellevillè. These, with that of Montmartre, are so situated that the possession of them commands Paris, with all the intervening track, filled with villages and country seats. The attack was commenced by the division of Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, which long sustained with great spirit a galling fire of artillery, and at length carried the heights of Romanville, the enemy retiring to those of Belville behind them. More to the left, the prince-royal of Wurtemburg directed an attack on the heights of Rosny and Charenton. The attack of the Silesian army was by some accident for a time delayed, but it was not long before D'Yorck and Kleist opened near St. Denis upon Aubervilliers, at which place and at Pantin, a very obstinate resistance was made, Prince William of Prussia with his brigade, and the Prussian guards, here greatly distinguished themselves. A redoubt and battery in the centre of the French kept D'Yorck in check for some part of the

day; but their flank being exposed by the loss of the heights of Romainville, and their losses in every part of the field, reduced them to the necessity of sending a flag of truce to pray a cessation of hostilities, on the condition of their yielding all the ground without the barrier of Paris, till further arrangements could be made. The heights of Montmartre were at this time about to be stormed, and the village of la Villette had been carried by Woronzow's division which was pushing on to the barrier; the sovereigns of Russia and Prussia, and prince Schwartzenberg, however, desirous of saving the capital from being sacked, most humanely agreed to the proposal: two aides-de-camp were sent to put the terms in execution; the battle ceased; and at four in the afternoon, count Nesselrode, the Russian minister, went into Paris. Thus terminated this important day, which was not without considerable loss to the allies; but it was final.

The metropolis of France being thus laid prostrate at the feet of hostile armies, no determination ever occurred of greater moment, in a moral and political view, than the treatment it was to receive. Besides the lust of rapine and pillage which prevails in the mass of all military bodies, feelings of resentment for the long and unparalelled injuries inflicted upon the countries of Europe, by the ambition of Napoleon, must have inspired a strong desire of retaliation, and the destruction of Moscow, it is said, kindledsuch an inclination in the more uncivilized portion of the Russian troops, for spreading desolation in the French capital, thatAlexander almost descended to supplication to induce them to forego their vindictive purposes. Mere retaliatory mischief, is always ignoble, and generally unjust, since its effects cannot be limited to suitable objects. From these considerations, though we may justly praise, we cannot wonder at the pacific and conciliatory measures that were immediately adopted by the victors on this great event.

One important act which resulted from the armistice granted by the allied powers, was the

CAPITULATION OF PARIS.

Art. 1. The corps of the marshals dukes of Treviso and Ragusa, shall evacuate the city of Paris on the 31st of March, at seven o'clock in the morning.—2. They shall take with them all the appurtenances of their corps d'armée.—3. Hostilities shall not re-commence until two hours after the evacuation of the city; that is to say, on the 31st of March, at nine o'clock in the morning.—4. All the arsenals, military establishments, workshops, and magazines, shall be left in the same state that they were in previous to the present capitulation being proposed.—5. The national or city guard, is entirely separated from the troops of the line; it is either to be kept on foot, or disarmed, or disbanded, according to the ulterior dispositions of the Allied Powers.—6. The corps of the municipal gendarmerie shall, in every respect, share the fate of the national guard.—7. The wounded and the stragglers remaining in Paris after seven o'clock, shall be prisoners of war.—8. The city of Paris is recommended to the generosity of the high Allied Powers.

Done at Paris the 31st of March, at two o'clock in the morning.

(Signed)

"Count ORLOFF, Aide-de-camp of his Majesty the Emof all the Russias.

"Colonel Count PAAN, Aide-de camp general of Marshal prince Schwartzenberg.

"Colonel BAROY FARRIER, attached to the Etat-Major of his Excellency the Marshal Duke of Ragusa.

"Colonel DENYS, first Aid-de-camp of his Excellency the Marshal Duke of Ragusa."

CHAPTER XLIII.

Evacuation of Paris by the French.—Its Occupation by the Allied Troops.—Declaration of the Emperor of Russia.—Proceedings of the Senate.—Movements of Napoleon.—His Abdication—Treaty with Napoleon.—His Address to the Army.—Embarkation for, and Arrival at Elba.

IN consequence of the articles of capitulation, Paris was evacuated on the 31st of March, at seven in the morning, by the troops of marshals Marmont and Mortier, they taking with them all their appurtenances; and on the same day the entrance of the sovereigns took place, the ceremonies of which is thus officially described:—

"The cavalry, under the grand arch-duke Constantine, and the guards of all the different allied forces were formed in columns early in the morning on the road from Bondi to Paris. The emperor of Russia with all his staff, his generals, and their suites present, proceeded to Pantin, where the king of Prussia joined him with a similar cortége. These sovereigns, surrounded by all the princes in the army, together with the prince field-marshal, and the Austrian etat-major, passed through the fauxbourg St. Martin, and entered the barrier of Paris about eleven o'clock, the cossacks of the guard forming the advance of the march. Already was the crowd so enormous, as well as the acclammations so great, that it was difficult to move forward; but before the monarchs reached the porte de St. Martin, to turn on the boulevards, there was a moral impossibility of proceeding. All Paris seemed to be assembled and concentrated in one spot: one spring evidently directed all their movements: they thronged in such masses round the Emperor and King, that, with all their condescending and gracious familiarity, extending their hands on all sides, it was in vain to attempt to satisfy the populace."

In the Parisian accounts it was stated, that before the chiefs of the three armies entered any house, they made their troops file off in their presence, to preserve discipline, and to prevent disorders. They then alighted at the house of the wily Talleyrand (prince of Benevento), from which the emperor of Russia issued the following

DECLARATION:

"The armies of the Allied Powers have occupied the French capital. The Allied Sovereigns meet the wishes of the French nation: they declare, that if the conditions of peace required stronger guarantees, when the object in view was the restraining of Buonaparté's ambition, they ought to be more favorable as soon as, by returning to a wise government, France herself shall offer the assurance of tranquillity. The Allied Sovereigns proclaim, therefore, that they will treat no more with Napoleon Buonaparté, or with any of his family:—that they respect the integrity of ancient France, such as it existed under her legitimate kings; they may even do more, because they always profess the principle, that, for the happiness of Europe, France ought to be great and strong:—that they will recognize and guarantee the Constitution which the French nation shall give itself. They accordingly invite the senate to appoint a provisional government capable of providing for the wants of administration, and of preparing such a Constitution as may be adapted to the French people. The intentions which I have expressed are common to me, with all the Allied Powers."

"ALEXANDER."

"By order of his Imperial Majesty,
"The secretary of state, Count DE NESSELRODE."
"*Paris, March* 31, 1814, *at* 3 *o'clock in the afternoon.*"

The senate lost no time in accepting the invitation contained in the above address of the emperor Alexander; they assembled on the 1st of April, and chose a committee, Talleyrand, being president, they passed a decree, "That there shall be established a provisional government, charged to provide for the wants of the administration, and to present to the senate the plan of a constitution which may suit the French people." This government was to consist of five members, who were then nominated, prince Talleyrand's name standing first. On the proposal of a senator, the following articles were voted: "That the senate and

C. M. Talleyrand, Perigord,
Prince of Benevente.

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the legislative body are integral parts of the intended constitution: that the army, as well as the retired officers and soldiers, shall retain the ranks, honours, and pensions they at present enjoy: that the public debts shall be inviolable: that the sale of the national domains shall be irrevocable: that no Frenchman shall be responsible for the public opinions he may have expressed: that liberty of worship and conscience shall be maintained, as well as liberty of the press, subject to legal penalties for its abuse."

At the sitting of the Conservative Senate of the 3rd of April, count Barthelemy, president, which was resumed at four o'clock, senator count Lambrechts read the revised and adopted plan of the decree which passed in the senate on the 2nd. The report states, "That Napoleon Buonaparté, during a certain period of firm and prudent government, afforded to the nation reasons to calculate for the future on acts of wisdom and justice; but that, afterwards, he violated the compact which united him to the French people, particularly in levying imposts and establishing taxes otherwise than in virtue of the law, against the express tenor of the oath which he had taken on his ascending the throne, conformable to article 53, of the Act of the Constitution of the 28th Floreal, year 12:—that he committed this attack on the rights of the people, even in adjourning, without necessity, the legislative body, and causing to be suppressed, as criminal, a report of that body, the title of which, and its share in the national representation, he disputed;—that he undertook a series of wars, in violation of article 50 of the Act of the Constitution of the 22nd Frimaire, year 8, which purports, that declarations of war should be proposed, debated, decreed, and promulgated in the same manner as laws:—that he issued, unconstitutionally, several decrees, inflicting the punishment of death; particularly the two decrees of the 5th of March last, tending to cause to be considered as national,

a war which would not have taken place but for the interests of his boundless ambition:—that he violated the constitutional laws by his decrees respecting the prisoners of the state:—that he annulled the responsibility of ministers, confounded all authorities, and destroyed the independence of judicial bodies:—considering that the liberty of the press, established and consecrated as one of the rights of the nation, has been constantly subjected to the arbitrary controul of the police, and that at the same time he has always made use of the press to fill France and Europe with misrepresentations, false maxims, doctrines favourable to despotism, and insults on foreign governments:—that acts and reports heard by the senate have undergone alterations in the publication:—considering that, instead of reigning according to the terms of his oath, with a sole view to the interest and happiness, and the glory of the French people, Napoleon completed the misfortunes of his country, by his refusal to treat on conditions which the national interests required him to accept, and which did not compromise the French honour:—by the abuse which he made of all the means intrusted to him in men and money:—by the abandonment of the wounded without dressings, without assistance, and without subsistence,—by various measures, the consequences of which were the ruin of the towns, the depopulation of the country, famine, and contagious diseases:—considering that, for all these causes, the Imperial government established by the *senatus consultum* of the 28th Floreal, year 12, has ceased to exist, and that the wish manifested by all Frenchmen calls for an order of things, the first result of which should be the restoration of general peace, and which should also be the era of a solemn reconciliation of all the states of the great European family:—the senate declares and decrees as follows:—

1. "Napoleon Buonaparté has forfeited the throne, and the hereditary right established in his family is abolished.

2. " The French people and the army are released from their oath of fidelity towards Napoleon Buonaparté.

3. " The present decree shall be transmitted by a message to the Provisional government of France, conveyed forthwith to all the departments and the armies, and immediately proclaimed in all the quarters of the capital."

During these transactions in the capital, Napoleon moved his army from Troyes, by Sens, towards Fontainbleau. He arrived at Fromart on the 30th, and would have been in Paris, had it not been in the possession of the allies. On learning what had passed, he retired to Corbeil, and thence to Fontainbleau, whence, on the 4th, he sent marshals Ney and Macdonald, and general Caulincourt, to carry to the senate his proposal of submitting to the decision of that body, and the French people, and to abdicate in favour of his son. This proposition being rejected, he announced an unconditional

ABDICATION.

" The Allied powers having proclaimed that the emperor Napoleon was the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, the emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares, that he renounces the thrones of France and Italy, and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make to the interest of France.

" *Done at the Palace of Fontainbleau, April* 6, 1812."

Against any danger to his life, he was protected by the honourable behaviour of marshal Marmont. Prince Schwartzenberg having on April 3rd, sent a letter inviting him to accede to the decree of the senate, by which Napoleon was declared to have forfeited the throne, and to pass with his corps under the new government, the marshal in reply expressed his willingness to contribute to the interests of France; but required as preliminary conditions, that all troops quitting the standard of Napoleon should have leave to pass freely into Normandy; and that, if events should place his person in the hands of the allies, the Prince should guarantee his life and safety, and he should be sent to a country chosen by the allied powers and the French government. These terms were agreed to;

and the emperor of Russia proposed to Napoleon, in the name of the allies, that he should choose a place of retreat for himself and his family. His choice fell upon the island of Elba, on the coast of Tuscany.

The articles that compose the following treaty, fully shews the consequence Napoleon still maintained in the eyes of the allied powers.

ARTICLES

Of the TREATY *between the* ALLIED POWERS *and his* MAJESTY *the* EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

Art. 1. "His majesty the emperor Napoleon renounces for himself, his successors and descendants, as well as for all the members of his family, all right of sovereignty and dominion, as well to the French empire, and the kingdom of Italy, as over every other country.

Art. 2. "Their majesties the emperor Napoleon and Maria Louisa shall retain their titles and rank, to be enjoyed during their lives. The mother, the brothers, sisters, nephews and nieces, of the Emperor shall also retain, wherever they may reside, the titles of princes of his family.

Art 3. "The isle of Elba, adopted by his majesty the emperor Napoleon as the place of his residence, shall form, during his life, a separate principality, which shall be possessed by him in full sovereignty and property; there shall be besides granted, in full property, to the emperor Napoleon, an annual revenue of 2,000,000 francs, in rent charge, in the great book of France, of which 1,000,000 shall be in reversion to the Empress.

Art. 4. "The duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, shall be granted, in full property and sovereignty, to her majesty the empress Maria Louisa; they shall pass to her son, and to the descendants in the right line. The prince, her son, shall from henceforth take the title of prince of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla.

Art. 5. "All the powers engage to employ their good offices to cause to be respected, by the Barbary powers, the flag and the territory of the isle of Elba, for which purpose the relations with the Barbary powers shall be assimilated to those with France.

Art. 6. "There shall be reserved in the territories hereby renounced, to his majesty the emperor Napoleon, for himself and his family, domains or rent charges in the great book of France, producing a revenue, clear of all deductions and charges, of 25,00,000 francs. These domains or rents shall belong, in full property, and to be disposed of as they shall think fit, to the princes and princesses of his family, and shall be divided amongst them in such a manner, that the revenue of each shall be in the following proportions, viz.

	Francs.
To Madame Mere	300,000
To King Joseph and his Queen	500,000
To King Louis	200,000
To the Queen Hortense and to her children	400,000
To King Jerome and his Queen	500,000
To the Princess Eliza	300,000
To the Princess Paulina	300,000
	2,500,000

The prince and princesses of the house of the emperor Napoleon shall besides retain their property, moveable and immoveable, of whatever nature it may be, which they shall possess by individual and public right, and the rents of which they shall enjoy (as individuals.)

Art. 7. "The annual pension of the empress Josephine shall be reduced to 1,000,000, in domains, or in inscriptions in the great book of France; she shall continue to enjoy, in full property, moveable and immoveable, with power to dispose of it conformable to the French laws.

Art. 8. "There shall be granted to prince Eugene, viceroy of Italy, a suitable establishment out of France.

Art. 9. "The property which his majesty the emperor Napoleon possesses in France, either as extraordinary domain, or as private domain, attached to the crown, the funds placed by the Emperor, either in the great book of France, in the bank of France, in the *Actions des Forets*, or in any other manner, and which his Majesty abandons to the crown, shall be reserved as a capital, which shall not exceed 2,000,000, to be expended in gratifications in favour of such persons, whose names shall be contained in a list to be signed by the emperor Napoleon, and which shall be transmitted to the French government.

Art. 10. "All the crown diamonds shall remain in France.

Art. 11. "His majesty the emperor Napoleon shall return to the treasury, and to the other public chests, all the sums and effects that shall have been taken out by his orders, with the exception of what has been appropriated from the civil list.

Art. 12. "The debts of the household of his majesty the emperor Napoleon, such as they were on the day of the signature of the present treaty, shall be immediately discharged out of the arrears due by the public treasury to the civil list, according to a list, which shall be signed by a commissioner appointed for that purpose.

Art. 13. "The obligations of the Mont Napoleon, of Milan, towards the creditors, whether Frenchmen or foreigners, shall be exactly fulfilled, unless there shall be any change made in this respect.

Art. 14. "There shall be given all the necessary passports for the free passage of his majesty the emperor Napoleon, or

of the empress, the princes and princesses, and all the persons of their suites who wish to accompany them, or to establish themselves out of France, as well for the passage of all the equipages, horses, and effects belonging to them. The Allied powers shall, in consequence, furnish officers and men for escorts.

Art. 15. "The French imperial guards shall furnish a detachment of from 1,200 to 1,500 men, of all arms, to serve as an escort to the emperor Napoleon to Saint Tropes, the place of his embarkation.

Art. 16. "There shall be furnished a corvette and the necessary transport vessels to convey to the place of his destination his majesty the emperor Napoleon and his household: and the corvette shall belong, in full property, to his majesty the Emperor.

Art. 17. "The emperor Napoleon shall be allowed to take with him and retain as his guard 400 men, volunteers, as well officers as sub-officers and soldiers.

Art. 18. "No Frenchman who shall have followed the emperor Napoleon or his family, shall be held to have forfeited his rights as such by not returning to France within three years, at least they shall not be comprised in the exceptions which the French government reserves to itself to grant after the expiration of that term.

Art. 19. "The Polish troops of all arms, in the service of France, shall be at liberty to return home, and shall retain their arms and baggage, as a testimony of their honourable services. The officers, sub-officers, and soldiers, shall retain the decorations which have been granted to them, and the pensions annexed to those decorations.

Art. 20. "The high Allied powers guarantee the execution of all the articles of the present treaty, and engage to obtain that it shall be adopted and guaranteed by France.

Art. 21. "The present act shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Paris, within two days, or sooner, if possible."

Done at Paris, the 11th of April, 1814.

(Signed)

The Prince DE METTERNICH.
J. F. Comte DE STADION.
J. F. ANDRE Comte DE RASOUMOUFFSKY.
CHAS. ROBERT Comte DE NESSELRODE.
CHAS. AUG. Baron DE HARDENBERG.
Marshal NEY.
CAULINCOURT.

The deposition of Napoleon might naturally be expected to be followed by the immediate restoration of the ancient royal dynasty; but France was not in the same state of preparation for such an

event as England on the downfall of the protectorate. The Bourbons were unknown or forgotten by the mass of the nation, and the allied powers had hitherto cautiously avoided any open indications of intending to adopt their cause. The declaration in their favor at Bordeaux was the work of a few: in Paris they had no party except some emigrants who had been permitted to return; and it is affirmed, that the emperor of Russia, on his entrance into the capital, was yet undetermined how to act in this point. To Talleyrand alone is ascribed, by the best informed, the resolution of placing Lewis XVIII. on the throne of his ancestors. This consummate politician, whose talents had made him necessary to Buonaparté, found no difficulty in transferring his allegiance from one who had slighted his counsels, and had brought on his own ruin, to a sovereign who would be indebted to him for his crown, and probably give him his entire confidence. When, therefore, the provincial government, of which he was the main spring, presented their plan of a constitution to the Conservative Senate, that body passed a decree, in which was the following article: "The present constitution shall be submitted to the acceptance of the French people, in the form which shall be regulated. Louis Stanislaus Xavier shall be proclaimed King of the French, as soon as he shall have accepted and sworn by an act stating, *I accept the constitution: I swear to observe it, and cause it to be observed.*" This was confirmed by the legislative body, and no opposition appeared on any part to the resumption of royalty by the head of the Bourbons. It is indeed probable, that eventually this must have taken place, whoever had first been in possession of the helm. Republicanism had been tried and found unsuitable to the genius of the nation; and no other settlement than a restoration of heriditary royalty could have united so many suffrages; but it was happy for the

tranquillity of France, that the determination was instant, and by the highest authority.

Several succeeding days were distinguished by the accession of different French marshals, and of various public bodies, to the new order of things. On April 13th, the interesting circumstance took place at Paris of the entry of Monsieur, the king's brother, into the capital. The allied sovereigns, who very prudently had hitherto avoided all appearance of interfering in the domestic concerns of the French, thought it expedient, that this solemnity should be purely national, and therefore neither attended it in person, nor permitted their troops to join in the train; lord Castlereagh, however, with the whole of the English mission, conceived it a compliment due to a family which had so long resided in this country, to appear in the procession. His Royal Highness was met at the barrier by the members of the provisional government, the municipal authorities, and the ministerial officers, and entering amidst a group of marshals of France, and great officers, proceeded in grand ceremony to the church of Notre Dame, to return thanks for the happy change in affairs. He was welcomed, *according to the authorised account*, with the most loyal acclamations, and received a congratulatory address from the municipal body of Paris, presented by the prefect of the department of the Seine.

The memorable 20th of April arrived, on which eventful day Napoleon left Fontainbleau, after having fixed his signature to the abdication of that colossal territory, which his superior genius in the field, and promptitude of decision in the cabinet, had rendered subservient to his dominion, in order to take possession of the island of Elba, doomed from that period to become his insignificant territory*.

* The isle of Elba, off the coast of Tuscany, is nearly 70 English miles in circuit. In 1778 it contained scarcely 8000

Though his fall from the highest rank of sovereignty, and the real power of wielding the first

inhabitants, but 30 years afterwards the number amounted to nearly 12,000. The inhabitants are in general good and hospitable, though, like all weak nations, they are flatterers. They are of an ordinary height, well made, and of an excellent constitution, which they preserve by a frugal life, and n love of manly exercises Their hair is generally black, their complexion brown, and their looks lively and penetrating.—Education is greatly neglected among them; and the perpetual revolutions and commotions which have so often struck at the root of the security and property of the people, have imparted a singular degree of asperity to their character; but nevertheless, they do not inheri that spirit of hatred and revenge, which is the distinguishing feature of some other nations. They have the ferocity neither of the gloomy Sardinian, nor of the fiery Sicilian; the stiletto, so common in some other parts of Italy, does not even exist among them; nor do they possess the cunning, the laziness, or the listlessness so natural to a southern people. They are endowed with a certain sprightliness of imagination, which renders them capable of receiving the strongest impressions, and hence proceeds an excessive predilection for extravagant and romantic tales, and for all that is connected with quackery and deception. They are unacquainted with the monstrous luxury of cities. A hat of black straw, a white boddice, a short petticoat of red or blue, is the whole attire of the women, whom, by the way, are not handsome. They are fond of wearing flowers and rings; and press their swelling bosoms under enormous busks laced tight with ribbons,—a custom producing a forced and disagreeable prominency in front, and an unpleasant stiffness in their arms and motions. They are possessed of a high degree of sensibility, are marriageable very early, acquire an old look in a short time, and are good mothers, entirely devoted to their families.—The food of the Elbese consists of dried pulse, bad cheese made of ewes' milk, salted and smoked provisions in general, coarse bread, fresh fish, chiefly tunny, and a very few vegetables. The salted cheese of Sardinia is an article of great consumption. They also eat an immense quantity of chesnuts, which they grind into flour, and can make into a pastry far superior to any that can be manufactured from maize. It is only upon holidays that their economy allows them to indulge themselves with fresh meat, and in an excellent white wine. On ordinary days they breakfast upon chesnut cake, towards noon dine upon bread and beans, lentils, or some other species of pulse, boiled and seasoned with oil; and in the evening their repast is soup, and fresh or salt fish. Their houses are low, but neatly and solidly furnished. Their beds

sceptre in Europe, to the station of lord of a petty island, was one of the greatest that history records, yet the alleviations by which it was attended might in some degree flatter his pride, and support his ideas of self-consequence. The circumstances of the parting scene are thus described: To the officers and subalterns of the old guard, who were still with him, he spoke in nearly the following words: "I bid you farewell. During the twenty years that we have acted together, I have been satisfied with you: I have always found you in the path of glory. All the powers of Europe have armed against me: a part of my generals have betrayed

are remarkable for their size, containing three, four, and often six persons at once, and frequently sufficient for a whole family. The use of these beds may be traced to the age of chivalry. In the 16th century their counterparts were to be seen in France and Germany. The inhabitants of the towns, "as is usually the case," bestow more regard upon their tables and houses; and enjoy most excellent bread, meat, and fish, fruits and vegetables, the chief part of which they procure at a heavy expence from the continent. The natives of Porto-Ferrajo, the capital, are addicted to luxury and libertinism, but the pleasure of the people in general are not of the liveliest description. Dancing is the favorite amusement of the young, but it wants that expression of sentiment, that vivacity of movement, and variety of attitude, which are so enchanting in the countries of Rome, Naples, Tarentum, Apulia, and Calabria. The general bodily diversions are races, bowls, nine-pins, quoits, a kind of tennis, which they play with a wooden bat shaped like a pine apple, and shooting at a butt; and among the young men, as among the Greeks and Liparots, it is a disgrace not to be able to row and navigate a bark; but the amusement in which the people take the greatest delight is that of the Improvvissatori, or reciters of extempore verses. In Elba, as well as at Florence, Rome, and Naples, you may recognize entire pieces from Tasso, Ariosto, and Metastasio, which the Improvvissatori has adroitly adapted to his own subject. The Elbese have strong constitutions and enjoy a salubrious atmosphere: but the use of salt meat, coarse bread, and bad wine, the putrid exhalations from undrained marshes, the dewy evenings and damp nights, and a hot, moist, south wind, which is almost always blowing, produce a great number of diseases, the chief of which are a variety of fevers, bilious, gastric, &c. diseases of the skin, dropsy, dysentery, scurvy, and inflammation of the lungs and eyes.

their duty: France itself has betrayed it. With your assistance, and that of the brave men who remained faithful to me, I have for three years preserved France from civil war. Be faithful to the new king, whom France has chosen; be obedient to your commanders; and do not abandon your dear country which too long has suffered. Pity not my fate: I shall be happy when I know that you are so likewise. I might have died: nothing would have been easier to me: but I still wish to pursue the path of glory. What we have done I will write. I cannot embrace you all; but I will embrace your general. Come, general. Let the eagle be brought to me, that I may also embrace it. Ah, dear eagle! may the kisses which I bestow on you resound to posterity! Adieu, my children! Adieu, my brave companions! Once more encompass me." The staff, accompanied by the commissioners of the four allied powers, formed a circle round him, and Buonaparté got into his carriage, manifestly affected with the scene, and dropping some tears.—He was followed by fourteen carriages, and his escort employed sixty post horses. The four commissioners accompanied him, and four officers of his household were part of his suite. Few of the military attended him.

On arriving at the sea-coast, he embarked on board an English frigate, and seemed to experience a remarkable exhiliration of spirits when under the protection of the British flag and honour. On the evening of May 3, the frigate arriving off Porto Ferrajo, in the isle of Elba, several officers of the Russian, Austrian, and English staffs, with two French generals, landed, and having officially communicated to the commandant of the port the events which had brought thither the celebrated personage who was to assume the sovereignty of the island, preparations were made for his reception. On the next morning, a flag sent by Buonaparté was brought into the town in ceremony, and was immediately hoisted on the castle,

amidst a salute of artillery. Its ground was white, interspersed with bees, and in the centre were the arms of Buonaparté united with those of Elba. Soon after, the Ex-emperor landed with all his suite, under a salute of cannon, returned by the frigate. Preceded by a military band, he was conducted in the midst of a crowd of curious spectatators, to the house of the mayor, where he received the visits of the superior civil officers, speaking to each with an assumed air of frankness and even gaiety. He then mounted on horseback, and visited all the forts; and on the next day, he extended his ride through his new dominions, particularly surveying the iron mines, which constitute the chief wealth of the island, and enquiring into the revenue yielded by them. His imperial title was continued as if he were still seated on the throne of the French empire; and the *Great Napoleon's* reign was ushered in by addresses from the vice-prefect and vicar-general to the people of the island of Elba, as replete with loyalty and adulation, as any which had paid homage to his highest fortune.

The confederated sovereigns hailed the auspicious hour of Napoleon's abdication, with sentiments allied to those experienced by one who is awakened from a trance of bliss, to find that his dream is a reality; yet dubious whether or not he ought to accredit what his sense confirms.—Such a transition in the mighty fortunes of Napoleon, seemed to stop, for a period, the grand political machinery of Europe, whereof he had acted as the main spring. We had been so accustomed to hear of his ordinances and bulletins, his rapid marchings and more electric victories, together with treaties renewed, and potentates confounded, that a vacuum succeeded in the human intellect, and we bent around a stupified gaze in search of that blazing comet, whose eratic and eccentric light had so lately astounded us, but was seen no more.

PIUS VII,

Romanæ Ecclesiæ Pont.e Max.

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CHAPTER XLIV.

Return of the Pope to Rome.—Ecclesiastical Authority and Property restored.—Festivals renewed.—The Order of the Jesuits re-established.—Other Orders re-established.—The King of Sardinia restored to his Possessions.—Genoa annexed to his Dominions.—Venice and its Territories annexed to Austria.—Resumption of the King's Authority in Sicily.

WE shall now take a slight review, during the interregnum of Napoleon's power, of the principal political events that occurred in the various states of Europe, which were placed more immediately under the controul of the late Ruler of France.

Of all the sovereigns whom the subversion of the government of Napoleon restored to their dominions, no one appears to have resumed his authority with the resolution of exercising it more fully to its former extent, than pope Pius VII. In a proclamation issued at Cezena, on May 5, previously to his return to Rome, he applied to himself the ancient title of "God's Vicar on Earth;" he spoke of his temporal sovereignty as essentially connected with his spiritual supremacy; and acquainted his people, that although he could not at this moment resume the exercise of it in all the ancient possession of the church, he did not doubt shortly to recover them, being confident not less in the inviolability of his sacred rights, than in the justice of the allied sovereigns.

A proclamation issued at Rome by the apostolic delegates on May 15, declared in the name of his Holiness the abolition of the Code Napoleon, and the restoration of the former pontifical, civil, and criminal code; also the suppression of what was called the civil state; and that all the funds, rents, &c. of every corporation shall be placed un-

der the administration of a commission formed of ecclesiastics, which commission is immediately, "even previously to the examination of the respective and legitimate rights," to restore the yet un-alienated property of all religious establishments, and to cause the regulars of each sex to be paid a two month's pension, and to provide for the public service in the churches. The Pope, on resuming his functions in person, at his capital, at first contented himself with requiring the retraction of those who had taken part in the late usurped government, and forbade, by a proclamation, all inquiries by individuals into the late transactions, reserving to himself all proceedings against the culpable. Such ecclesiastics as had taken the oath to Napoleon, were ordered to disclaim it, on pain of being suspended from all divine offices. A commission was appointed in July for the purpose of making a report on the property termed national, or extraordinary domains, which had been ceded to companies that were creditors of the French government or had been sold by agents of the financial administration.

On August 7, that event so important to the church of Rome, and which peculiarly marks the spirit of the present pontificate, the restoration of the order of Jesuits, was publicly declared. When it is considered that the suppression of this order in 1773, was effected by the compulsion of the Sovereigns of the house of Bourbon, and was the consequence of that jealousy of its power, and detestation of its principles, which then seemed almost universal in the Catholic world, it must appear a measure of extraordinary boldness in a pontiff but just restored to his own authority, to become the renovator of a body lately so obnoxious. The Jesuits, indeed, were always regarded as the most devoted satellites of the see of Rome; whence it is not to be wondered at that their revival was a desirable object of the papal court; but the policy of effecting it in so precipitate a manner, and

by a mere exertion of ecclesiastical authority, appears very questionable. The ceremonial observed on this great occasion is thus described. His Holiness, on Sunday, August the 7th, "went to the church of Jesus to celebrate high mass at the altar of St. Ignatius. After hearing another mass, he proceeded to the neighbouring oratory of the congregation of nobles, where he was seated on a throne prepared for him. He then handed to the master of the ceremonies, and caused him to read with a loud voice, a bull for the re-establishment of the company of the Jesuits."

POPE'S BULL, RE-ESTABLISHING THE JESUITS.

PIUS, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God.

(*Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.*

"The care of all the churches confided to our humility by the Divine will, notwithstanding the lowness of our deserts and abilities, makes it our duty to employ all the aids in our power, and which are furnished to us by the mercy of Divine Providence, in order that we may be able, as far as the changes of times and places will allow, to relieve the spiritual wants of the Catholic world, without any distinction of people and nations.

"Wishing to fulfil this duty of our apostolic ministry, as soon as Francis Karen (then living) and other secular priests resident for many years in the vast empire of Russia, and who had been members of the company of Jesus, suppressed by Clement XIV. of happy memory, had supplicated our permission to unite in a body, for the purpose of being able to apply themselves more easily, in conformity with their institution, to the instruction of youth in religion and good morals, to devote themselves to preaching, to confession, and the administration of the other sacraments, we felt it our duty the more willingly to comply with their prayer, inasmuch as the then reigning emperor Paul I. had recommended the said priests in his gracious dispatch, dated the 11th of August, 1800, in which, after setting forth his special regard for them, he declared to us that it would be agreeable to him to see the company of Jesus established in his empire, under our authority; and we, on our side, considering attentively the great advantages which these vast regions might thence derive; considering how useful those ecclesiastics, whose morals and doctrine were equally tried, would be to the Catholic religion, thought fit to second the wish of so great and beneficent a prince.

"In consequence, of our brief, dated the 7th of March, 1804, we granted to the said Francis Karen, and his colleagues residing in Russia, or who should repair thither from other countries, power to form themselves into a body, or congrega-

tion of the company of Jesus; they are at liberty to unite in one or more houses, to be pointed out by their superior, provided those houses are situated within the Russian empire. We named the said Francis Karen general of the said congregation; we authorised them to resume and follow the rule of St. Ignatius of Loyola, approved and confirmed by the constitutions of Paul III. our predecessor, of happy memory, in order that the companions, in a religious union, might freely engage in the instruction of youth in religion and good letters, direct seminaries and colleges, and with the consent of the ordinary, confess, preach the word of God, and administer the sacraments. By the same brief we received the congregation of the company of Jesus under our immediate protection and dependence, reserving to ourselves and our successors the prescription of every thing that might appear to us proper to consolidate, to defend it, and to purge it from the abuses and corruption that might be therein introduced; and for this purpose we expressly abrogated such apostolical constitutions, statutes, privileges, and indulgencies granted in contradiction to those concessions, especially the apostolic letters of Clement XIV. our predecessor, which begin with the words, *Dominuo ac Redemptor Noster*, only in so far as they are contrary to our brief, beginning *Catholicæ*, and which was given only for the Russian empire.

"A short time after we had ordained the restoration of the order of Jesuits in Russia, we thought it our duty to grant the same favour to the kingdom of Sicily, on the warm request of our dear son in Jesus Christ, king Ferdinand, who begged that the company of Jesus might be re-established in his dominions and states, as it was in Russia, from a conviction that, in these deplorable times, the Jesuits were instructors most capable of forming youth to Christian piety and the fear of God, which is the beginning of wisdom, and to instruct them in science and letters. The duty of our pastoral charge leading us to second the pious wishes of these illustrious monarchs, and having only in view the glory of God and the salvation of souls, we, by our brief, beginning *Peralias*, and dated the 30th of July, 1804, extended to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies the same concessions which we had made for the Russian empire.

"The Catholic world demands, with unanimous voice, the re-establishment of the company of Jesus. We daily receive to this effect, the most pressing petitions from our venerable brethren, the archbishops and bishops, and the most distinguished persons, especially since the abundant fruits which this company has produced in the above countries have been generally known. The dispersion even of the stones of the sanctuary in those recent calamities (which is better now to deplore than to repeat); the annihilation of the discipline of the regular orders (the glory and support of religion and the Catholic church, to the restoration of which all our thoughts and

cares are at present directed), require that we should accede to a wish so just and general.

"We should deem ourselves guilty of a great crime towards God, if amidst these dangers of the christian republic, we neglected the aids which the special providence of God has put at our disposal; and if, placed in the bark of Peter, tossed and assailed by continual storms, we refused to employ the vigorous and experienced powers who volunteer their services, in order to break the waves of a sea which threatens every moment shipwreck and death. Decided by motives so numerous and powerful, we have resolved to do now what we could have wished to have done at the commencement of our pontificate. After having by fervent prayers implored the Divine assistance, after having taken the advice and counsel of a great number of our venerable brothers the cardinals of the Holy Roman church, we have decreed, with full knowledge, in virtue of the plenitude of apostolic power, and with perpetual validity, that all the concessions and powers granted by us solely to the Russian empire and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, shall henceforth extend to all our ecclesiastical states, and also to all other states. We therefore concede and grant to our well beloved son, Taddeo Barzozowski, at this time general of the company of Jesus, and to the other members of that company lawfully delegated by him, all suitable and necessary powers, in order that the said states may freely and lawfully receive all those who shall wish to be admitted into the regular order of the company of Jesus, who under the authority of the general, *ad interim*, shall be admitted and distributed, according to opportunity, in one or more houses, one or more colleges, and one or more provinces, where they shall conform their mode of life to the rules prescribed by St. Ignatius of Loyola, approved and confirmed by the constitutions of Paul III. We declare besides, and grant power that they may freely and lawfully apply to the education of youth in the principles of the Catholic faith, to form them to good morals, and to direct colleges and seminaries; we authorise them to hear confessions, to preach the word of God, and to administer the sacraments in the places of their residence, with the consent and approbation of the ordinary. We take under our tutelage, under our immediate obedience, and that of the Holy See, all the colleges, houses, provinces, and members of this order, and all those who shall join it; always reserving to ourselves and the Roman pontiffs our successors, to prescribe and direct all that we may deem it our duty to prescribe and direct to consolidate the said company more and more, to render it stronger, and to purge it of abuses, should they ever creep in, which God avert. It now remains for us to exhort with all our hearts, and in the name of the Lord, all superiors, provincials, rectors, companions, and pupils of this re-established so-

ciety, to shew themselves at all times and in all places faithful imitators of their father: that they exactly observe the rule prescribed by their great founder; that they obey with an always increasing zeal the useful advices and salutary counsels which he has left to his children.

"In fine, we recommend strongly in the Lord, the company and all its members, to our dear sons in Jesus Christ the illustrious and noble princes and lords temporal, as well as to our venerable brothers the archbishops and bishops, and to all those who are placed in authority; we exhort, we conjure them not only not to suffer that these religious may be in any way molested, but to watch that they be treated with all due kindness and charity

"We ordain that the present letters be inviolably observed according to their form and tenor, in all time coming; that they enjoy their full and entire effect; that they shall never be submitted to the judgment or revision of any judge, with whatever power he may be clothed; declaring null and of no effect any incroachment on the present regulations, either knowingly or from ignorance; and this notwithstanding any apostolical constitutions and ordinances, especially the brief of Clement XIV. of happy memory, beginning with the words *Dominus ac Redemptor Noster*, issued under the seal of the Fisherman, on the 22d of July, 1773, which we expressly abrogate as far as contrary to the present order.

"It is also our will that the same credit be paid to copies, whether in manuscript or printed, of our present brief, as to the original itself, provided they have the signature of some notary public, and the seal of some ecclesiastical dignitary; that no one be permitted to infringe, or by an audacious temerity to oppose any part of this ordinance; and that should any one take upon him to attempt it, let him know that he will thereby incur the indignation of Almighty God, and of the holy apostles Peter and Paul.

"Given at Rome, at Sancta Maria Major, on the 17th of August, in the year of our Lord 1814, and the 15th of our Pontificate."

(Signed)
Cardinal PRODATAIRE.
Cardinal BRASCHI.

In the progress of re establishing every thing ancient, which was the predominant principle of the revived papal government, the magistracy of Rome published an ordinance, by which the faithful were apprised that all the festivals observed before the incorporation of the city with the French empire, were restored. Another more puerile example of the same policy was given by a rescript,

which announced that the lamps introduced by the late government were suppressed. The streets of Rome were formerly lighted by the flambeaux and lanterns placed by devotees under the numerous images erected at the corners and crossings, as well as those at the doors of private houses; and it was thought proper to renew this mode, however irregular, as gratifying to pious feelings, and costing nothing to the government. It was in a more enlightened spirit that the governor made known that the places called sanctuaries were no longer to afford security to criminals. In every arbitrary government, secret meetings, and associations of persons connected by rites or engagements known only to themselves, are objects of particular jealousy, it being justly concluded that where men are restrained from expressing their opinions openly, they will naturally seek such occasions of propagating them in private. On this account, the societies of Free-Masons, which among us no one suspects of serious or dangerous intentions, have been regarded in many parts of the continent as instituted for the purpose of fostering innovations in church or state; and it appears, that under this idea they were peculiarly obnoxious to the Roman government. Cardinal Pacca, pro-secretary of state, published in August an edict prohibiting, under very severe penalties, all assemblies of secret societies, especially that of Free-masons. At the same time the greatest encouragements were offered to all who should become informers; and they were told by his Holiness, that there was nothing wrong or dishonorable in such denunciations, since they were equally important to the faith and the state. In consequence, many persons were committed to prison, or otherwise punished.

It was by no means to the Jesuits that this zealous Pope limited his purpose of re-establishing the religious orders fallen to decay in the late revolutionary times. Sensible that all the monastic communities were attached to the see of Rome as

their head, and regarding them as the firmest pillars of the church, he had from the time of his restoration, declared his intention of re-instating them, as far as was in his power, in their ancient consequence; and cardinal Pacca, on August 15th, issued an edict, declaratory of his Holiness's views on this subject. After representing as one of the greatest calamities of the time, the almost total annihilation of these religious societies, and stating the Holy Father's earnest wishes to repair the mischief, the edict proceeded to mention the many obstacles which at present opposed his designs, and the means he had in view to overcome them. A commission had been appointed for investigating every thing connected with the re-establishment of the regular orders, which had presented their plan to his Holiness; but as circumstances would not permit their renewal in all the pontifical states, it was proposed to make a commencement at Rome, where all the disposable convents were to be given them, in which the superiors might be lodged, and "the greatest possible number of monks assembled." A hope was also expressed, that from the religion of the governments, and the zeal of the bishops, of the Catholic world, they would patronise the establishment of these asylums of Christian piety and evangelical perfection.

Among the restitutions definitively agreed upon previously to the meeting of the grand congress, was that of the Italian territories formerly possessed by the sovereign house of Sardinia. The Austrian lieutenant-general, count Bubna, published at Turin a declaration, in the name of the Allied Powers, dated Paris, April 25th, and addressed to the subjects of the continental states of the king of Sardinia, in which they are informed, that they are about to return under the dominion of that august family; and that, in virtue of a convention concluded with France, the Austrian troops are to take possession of the country in the name of Victor Emanuel; and till the arrival of his Sardinian

majesty, his states will be administered by a military governor charged with their defence, and by a civil governor, assisted by a council of regency. In the same declaration count Bubna was nominated to the former post, and the count de St. Marsan to the latter. The king of Sardinia arrived at Genoa on May the 12th, whence he issued a proclamation to his Italian subjects, announcing the recovery of his rights, and assuring to them every attention on his part to restore the country to a prosperous state. He particularly mentioned his purpose to relieve them from their exorbitant taxes, to promote commerce and agriculture, and to revive the lustre of their holy religion; and he announced the abolition of the military conscription. His Majesty entered Turin on the 20th, amidst the acclamations of the people. Having no force under his own command, his territories continued in the military possession of the Austrians, whilst the organization of the native troops was carrying into effect. At length, in August, the emperor of Austria directed the entire evacuation of the provinces of Savoy by his troops, and the King determined upon the re establishment of the senate of that duchy. The citadel of Turin had previously been occupied by the Sardinian troops, and the strong fortress of Fenestrella was delivered up to the commissioners of his majesty. Difficulties, however, appear to have occurred in completing the Piedmontese army, and although the King conferred upon the provinces their ancient privileges of forming regiments under their names, and even gave them to their old titular proprietors, it was found no easy task to keep them to their colours. The vallies were said at this time to be infested by banditti which required a regular force for their suppression, and Austrian garrisons still held the towns Ivree and Alexandria. The long occupation of Piedmont by France had, apparently, fostered a French interest in that country, which

obstructed its ready return to its ancient allegiance. The King, however, acted with prudence and moderation.—No one was disturbed for the part taken under the former government; and several persons were appointed to important judicial and administrative posts who had been employed by the French authorities.

By a protocol signed on the 14th of May, by the plenipotentiaries composing the congress, the cession of the republic of Genoa, and all the country, had been decisively fixed, and an order was sent to the English general at Genoa to give up the government to the person commissioned by the king of Sardinia to receive it, and to consider his troops as auxiliary to that sovereign.

Thus has another state been transferred to a new master, without considering its consent as in the least necessary to the validity of such an act; and from these examples, a conclusion may be formed of the nature of that principle, which is to regulate the decisions of that congress which has so long held all Europe in a state of anxious expectation.

The annexation of all the other districts in the North of Italy, to the Austrian dominion, appears to have been a further measure equally determined upon in the councils of the allied powers before they assembled in congress.

The final termination of the ancient republic of Venice, so long the mistress of the Adriatic, was announced by the emperor of Austria, in a reply to an address presented by a Venetian deputation, as published in the Court Gazette of Vienna, August 27th. "When Venice (says his Imperial Majesty) in consequence of the political events which shook Europe, was united to my empire, this state preserved, under my government, the same spirit of order which, in former times, had been the basis of its republican constitution. The unhappy situation of the world at that epoch necessarily impeded the measures and the activity of all governments. These disastrous times are passed.

I now find you such as I left you, and no obstacle can interpose to prevent the execution of the plans I have formed for your happiness. Your provinces will always be one of the brightest gems in my crown They shall recover their ancient prosperity: commerce resuming its rights, shall be restored to its former channels: the industry of a good people shall be supported and encouraged by mild and protecting laws: Venice shall regain her rank among the first cities in the world."—How far this last prediction can be verified under an arbitrary monarchy, futurity must determine.

The island of Sicily, which the circumstances of the war had so long almost converted into an English garrison, naturally returned to its pristine condition after the peace; and in the beginning of July, it was announced from Palermo, that his majesty Ferdinand III. had resumed the reins of government, and that every thing was changed in the ministry and administration. On the 18th of that month, the Sicilian parliament was opened in great state by the king in person, and a speech in his name was read to the assembled houses. It is chiefly observable from the notice taken in it of the constitution. "Henceforth (the king is made to say) Sicily has a written constitution, destined to establish order in the movements of power, that they be not thrown into confusion; to assign limits to the various political functions, that they do not invade each other; to fix the grand point where private rights and public wants should meet; to protect civil liberty, and the full and entire security of persons and property. Destined henceforth to lay the foundation of the prosperity and welfare of the Sicilians; modelled after that of a great and elevated nation, which has given and continues daily to give proofs of its wealth, its power, and magnanimity, this constitution has always been the object of my affectionate and paternal sentiments." The speech proceeds to remark, that this constitution, however, has not hi-

therto fully answered to the general expectation, which is imputed to the effects of war, and the convulsions usually occasioned by great and sudden changes. After expressing a hope of future unanimity, it gives a summary view of the business which is to occupy the present attention of the parliament, of which the most urgent is stated to be providing for the payment of the public debt. It concludes with a compliment to his august ally, the king of Great Britain, and to lord William Bentinck, as captain-general of the united forces.

An unfortunate proof of the yet unsettled state of the Sicilian constitution, appeared in the disputes which immediately occurred respecting the elections of deputies; and the representatives of Palermo, Messina, Catania, Syracuse, and several other towns, were excluded, as having been unconstitutionally chosen. New elections were therefore ordered, and the parliament was adjourned, or rather closed, on the 23rd. This was probably a manœuvre of party: for after the dismission of the parliament, great discontents prevailed, the government appeared in open opposition to the English, and persons who had obtained offices through English influence were every day dismissed, and some of them arrested.

Thus, after an absence of nine years, the king of the Two Sicilies made his public entry into Naples on the 17th of June, 1815, and was greeted with a degree of popular enthusiasm, apparently not the mere temporary homage paid to existing power. It was evident, however, that the Neapolitans losing Murat, a soldier of fortune, obtained a prince without talents, destitute of personal dignity, and, without exception, according to Sir William Hamilton, "the worst educated sovereign in Europe."

Brief as is generally the interval between the deposition and the death of a sovereign, the fate of Murat succeeded his fall with more than usual celerity. Having effected his escape from Italy,

Murat, Grand Duke of Berg.

Pub. by M Jones, 1809.

he retired to Provence, in the south of France, and for some time took up his residence at Toulon, while Madame Murat and her family found an asylum in the Austrian states. The results of the battle of Waterloo had obliged Murat to quit France, and in September, 1815, he appeared in the island of Corsica, where he assembled a number of partizans to assist him in invading Naples, and to recover the throne from which he had been expelled At mid day on the 8th of October, he disembarked in Calabria with a suite of thirty persons, and marched without interruption to the first village, where hoping to excite a rising of the people in his favour, Murat exclaimed, "I am Joachim, your king; it is your duty to acknowledge me." These words served to rouse the people to arms, not to aid, but to crush a desperate enterprize, that threatened to involve their country in the horrors of a civil war. Murat and his suite sought refuge in the mountains, and afterwards endeavoured to open themselves a way to the coast, but were made prisoners Immediately after his capture, Murat was brought to trial before a military commission, by which he was condemned to be shot, in company with his followers; this accordingly took place in the afternoon of the 13th of October, and thus released the apprehensions of the reigning family for the safety of their throne.

The news, that Murat after landing in Calabria with a few troops, had been seized and shot, when brought to St. Helena, occasioned Napoleon to interrupt the relator, and say, "The Calabrians were more humane, more generous, than those who sent me here." Murat, without real judgment, without solid views, without a character proportioned to the circumstances in which he had been placed, had perished in an attempt evidently desperate. It is not impossible that the Emperor's return from Elba turned his brain, and inspired him with the hope of renewing the prodigy in his own person.

Such was the miserable end of him who had been

one of the most active causes of Napoleon's reverses. In 1814, his courage, it was admitted, might have saved Napoleon from the abyss in which his treachery involved his former sovereign He neutralized the vice-king, Eugene, on the Po, and fought against him; whereas, by uniting together they might have forced the passes of the Tyrol, made a descent into Germany, and arriving on the Rhine, might have destroyed the rear of the allies, and cut off their retreat from France.

The Emperor, while he was at Elba, avoided all communication with Murat, as king of Naples, but on departing for France, he wrote to inform him, that being about to resume possession of his throne, he felt pleasure in declaring to him, that all their past differences were at an end. He pardoned his late conduct, tendered him his friendship, sent some one to sign the guarantee of his states, and recommended him to maintain a good understanding with the Austrians, and content himself merely with keeping them in check, should they attempt to march upon France. Murat, at this moment, actuated by the sentiments of his early youth, would receive neither guarantee nor signature. He declared, that the Emperor's promise and friendship were sufficient for him, and that he would prove he had been more unfortunate than guilty His devotedness and ardour, he added, would obtain for him oblivion for the past.

" Murat," said the Emperor, " was doomed to be our bane. He ruined us by forsaking us, and he afterwards ruined us by too warmly espousing our cause. He observed no sort of discretion: he himself attacked the Austrians without any reasonable plan, and without adequate forces, and he was subdued without striking a blow "

The Austrians, when rid of Murat, cited his conduct as a pretext for imputing ambitious views to Napoleon, when he again apeared on the scene. They constantly referred to Murat whenever the Emperor made protestations of his moderation.

" I should have taken him with me to Water-

loo," said Napoleon, " but such was the patriotic and moral feeling of the French army, that it was doubtful, whether the troops could surmount the disgust and horror which they felt for the man who had betrayed and lost France. I did not consider myself sufficiently powerful to protect him. How useful would he have been at certain periods of the battle! At the head of a body of cavalry no man was ever more resolute, more courageous, or more brilliant."

To O'Meara Napoleon was more explicit, relative to Murat. " I had" said he, " forbidden him to act; for after I had returned from Elba, there was an understanding between the emperor of Austria and me, that if I gave him up Italy, he would not join the coalition against me. This I had promised, and would have fulfilled; but that *imbecille*, in spite of the direction to remain quiet, advanced with his rabble into Italy, where he was blown away like a puff.—The emperor of Austria seeing this, concluded directly that it was by my order."—But to return to the events of 1814.

About this period the conduct of Ferdinand of Spain, whom Buonaparté had restored to his kingdom, by virtue of the treaty of Valency, in December, 1813, began to attract universal attention. Though his return to Spain in March, 1814, had been hailed by the general voice of his nation, yet it soon became obvious that this unanimity was only external, and that two discordant parties existed; the one consisting of those who supported the political reforms that had taken place, and the other, of those who either decidedly opposed, or only gave them a feigned and hollow countenance. Scarcely had Ferdinand entered Spain before it was discovered to which party he intended to attach himself. His favorite object was to establish civil and religious tyranny, if possible more complete and firm than it had existed before the invasion of the French. All the labours of the Cortes for the liberty of their country were overthrown, and those men who had

been most instrumental in achieving the liberation of Spain were treated with the greatest cruelty. The restored monarch seemed decidedly of opinion that Spain had been polluted by those statesmen and warriors who stood forth in his cause, though he took into his confidence the duke of San Carlos, the person who signed the treaty of Valency. To crown this abhorrent tyranny a decree was published at Madrid, dated July 21, 1814, re-establishing the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, and all its other tribunals as they were in 1808.—And what was the conduct of the Spanish nation at this period? Did they manfully assert their liberties? Did that genuine and enlightened love of independece for which they had obtained credit while resisting the views of Buonaparté, rouse them to oppose the tyranny of Ferdinand? Far from it; they in general hailed all his measures, and even the suppression of the Cortes! It is true, that the Spanish nation, or a considerable part of it, have since found it necessary to resist Ferdinand and his measures; but with what unanimity or effect, remains to be seen.

France, in consequence of Buonaparté's failures and abdication, being reduced to her former limits, Holland was rather enlarged by the addition of the Catholic Netherlands The emperor Francis shewed no reluctance in getting rid of a detached territory, which had long been more of a burden than a benefit. On the 1st of August, 1814, a proclamation by Baron de Vincent, the Austrian governor, informed the people that Belgium was to be given up into the hands of the sovereign prince of the Netherlands, and the prince of Orange soon after assured his new subjects that the destination of these provinces was only a part of a system by which the allied sovereigns hoped to insure to the nations of Europe a long period of prosperity and repose.

In the meanwhile, Louis, who had ascended the throne of France, found himself surrounded with

difficulties. The splendid military despotism which for several years had dazzled his country, had hushed, but not extinguished the revolutionary parties. A great mass of past glory still adhered to the name of Napoleon; and his partizans, and even his troops, had no difficulty in finding reasons for his failures in unforeseen circumstances, and in the perfidious desertion of his former allies. The pride of the nation, co-operating with this feeling, spurned at the idea of being conquered. As soon therefore as the joy of present relief from danger had subsided, a spirit of discontent manifested itself in animosity against the allies, and in disaffection to a government which they considered had been imposed upon them by foreign arms. This spirit was so strong in the capital, and in some of the departments, that it required all the vigilance of the government to prevent its breaking out into open insurrection.

It was on this principle that the king endeavoured to attach the marshals and generals to his person and government, and to guarantee to them those honours and distinctions for which they were originally indebted to another master. Hence marshal Soult was appointed minister of war, and prince Talleyrand, one of the most consummate statesmen of his age or nation, was elevated to one of the first offices in the state, and entrusted with the entire management of the negociations at the congress of Vienna.

No sovereign could possibly make fairer promises at the commencement of his reign than Louis XVIII. in the charter then granted to the nation. But nothing alarmed the Legislative Chamber equal to the infraction of the liberty of the press, and the violation of the 23rd article of the Constitutional Charter.

On the 6th of July, the ministers proposed a law for the better regulation of the press, which, after much contention and debate, was carried,

and the court party in the chamber prevailed, by a majority of 137 against 80 voices. The state of the nation, or rather the evils of Napoleon's government, were soon after made the subject of an *Exposé*, and much time was occupied in discussing the state of the finances, and that of the public debt. The first session of the restoration parliament of France, closed its sittings on the 30th of December. The salutary regulations which they introduced into the department of finance, were certainly calculated to retrieve the public credit, by affording facilities for the reduction of the debt already incurred, and by making provisions against its future increase. To retrieve commerce, a Commercial chamber was created, and a civil list was voted to the King, equal to that with which the crown was endowed under Louis XVI but unhappily for the tranquillity of the state, the vital question regarding emigrant property, though frequently before the assembled legislators of France, was brought to no decision, and the indemnity of the clerical body for the confiscation of church property, during the revolution, was thought too delicate or dangerous to be so soon submitted to the consideration of the chambers.

CHAPTER XLV.

State of Parties in France at the Commencement of 1815.—*Arrival of Napoleon at the Isle of Elba.—His Employment there.—Change in his Habits.—Learns the Dicontents of the French People.—The Symbol of the Violet.—Blindness and Insensibility of the Bourbons —Removal of Buonapartê from Elba in agitation at Vienna —This prevented by his own determination to quit Elba and return to France.—His actual Departure on the 26th of February.—His Fortitude and Presence of Mind.—Address to the French Nation.—Lands and takes up his first Night's Quarters in a Field of Olives.—Begins his March to Paris.—Proclamations, &c. Sensations excited in Paris by the Return of Buonapartê.—Re-establishment of the Imperial Government.—Intrigues of Fouché against Napoleon.—Activity and Bustle of the Hundred Days.—The Champ de Mars, &c. &c.*

THE state of parties in France at the commencement of the year 1815, still indicated alarming differences in sentiments and opinions among large classes of the community. The military, in particular, deeply felt the humiliation of the French arms. A recent ordinance for the reduction of all officers not immediately in employ to half-pay, combined with the recall of the Swiss guards to the capital, with the exclusion of the old Imperial guard from Paris, swelled the tide of discontent to an alarming height. To add to such stimulants, already too strong, a religious ceremony, calculated to revive a recollection of the errors and crimes of the Revolution, and by no means adapted to the enlightened spirit of the times, was performed on the 21st of January, the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI. On the 18th, the remains of the bodies of the King and Queen were taken up from the cemetry of the Magdalene,

where they had lain two and twenty years. They were then enclosed in a large box, which was fastened and sealed with the signet of the arms of France, and carried into a chamber, in order that the ecclesiastics might continue round the two bodies the prayers of the church till the time finally fixed for the placing them in leaden coffins, and for carrying them to the royal church of St. Denis, where they were finally entombed. The people now not only imagined that they should be compelled to pay respect to all the ancient rites and prejudices in religion, but that it was intended to restore the whole circle of feudal tenures and services, especially as the theatres of Paris had been ordered to be shut on the day of the re-interment of the royal corpses, and a service commemorative of the death of Louis XVI. then considered as a martyr, introduced into the French liturgy. To add to this aggravation, many persons, from factious motives, were busy in disseminating reports of designs on the part of government, to restore tithes, and invalidate the purchase of national property.

The arrival of Napoleon at Elba has been noticed in the preceding chapter; here his ever active mind was immediately applied to completing the fortification of his capital, improving the public roads, and adding to the agricultural and mineralogical resources of the island. One of his attendants observed, "His days passed in the most pleasing occupations; all his hours were filled up." In the morning he shut himself up in his library. He often rose before the sun, and employed himself several hours in study. About eight o'clock he visited the work he had projected, and spent a considerable time amongst his workmen. Whatever might be the state of the weather, he repaired daily to his chateau at St. Martin, and there, as in the city, he was occupied with the interior management of his house, and required an exact account of every thing, entering into the

smallest details of rural and domestic economy.—Often after breakfast he reviewed his little army, required the greatest regularity in their exercises and manœuvres, and caused the strictest discipline to be observed. After the review, he mounted his horse, generally attended by marshal Bertrand and general Drouot, and in his excursions often gave audience to those who met him. At dinner, all who were admitted to his table were treated with kindness and cordiality, as he had acquired the secret of enjoying the most intimate and friendly society without surrendering any part of his dignity. The evenings were usually dedicated to family parties.

When the Emperor received the visits of strangers, which often happened, he entered freely into conversation. Frequently he spoke of his last campaign—of his views and hopes—the defection of his marshals—the capture of Paris, and his abdication, with great earnestness, exhibiting, in rapid succession, traits of eloquence, of military genius, indignation, and no small share of self-estimation. However, when the first impressions of novelty were effaced, Buonaparté's mind gradually subsided into a state bordering upon *ennui.* He grew corpulent, took less exercise and more sleep. But his knowledge of the discussions in the congress of Vienna, with respect to his future disposal, and the treatment of the Empress and his son, soon roused him from this state. Hitherto he had evinced a decided preference for the society of Sir Neil Campbell, the British accredited agent at Elba; but having received a visit from some of his family and friends, he became restless and dissatisfied. He shunned the company of the British resident, and almost secluded himself from society. Often he would spend seven or eight hours in his closet, no one daring to intrude on his retirement; and at other times he would wander on the shore, with folded arms, and frequently with an unequal

and agitated step. The increasing discontents of the French people had now come to his knowledge, the wheel of vicissitudes was again in motion, and the mind of Napoleon became intently fixed upon the progress of the rotation.

This striking alteration in his conduct, and the frequent intercourse which he had opened with his friends in Leghorn, Florence, and other parts of the continent, was not concealed from the principal governments of Europe. A corvette had also been assigned to him, to keep up his communication with the ports of the Mediterranean, and no cruizer of any nation had any right to violate his flag. In fact, colonel Sir Neil Campbell had not any authority for seizing or detaining Buonaparté if he thought proper to quit the island. His device, the *violet*, the secret symbol by which his friends denoted him, and knew each other, was extended on the course of the Seine, as well as on the banks of the Lake of Geneva. Rings of a violet colour with the device, "*Elle reparatrai au printems*," "It will re-appear in the spring," became fashionable. Females wore violet-coloured silks, and the men displayed violet-coloured watch-strings; and the mutual question, when persons met, was generally, "*Amez vous la violette*" "Are you fond of the violette?" To which the answer of a confederate was, "*Eh, bien*," "Ah, well."

In the midst of this peril, the Bourbons seemed to slumber at the Tuilleries, and to disregard the warning-voice so often sounded in their ears. Early in January offers are understood to have been received by M. Blacas, the minister and favourite of his sovereign, to disclose a plot formed for the restoration of Buonaparté, but the proposal was received with contemptuous silence, and treated with neglect. Posterity will scarcely credit the assertion, that after the return of Napoleon, there were found in the bureau of the Abbé Montesquieu, several successive communications from the Comte de Boutheliers, prefect of the depart-

ment of the Var, unread and unopened. The early part of these communications, dated in the month of January, informed the minister of the frequent arrival and departure at, and from Elba. At Vienna also, the conduct of the illustrious exile had become the subject of correspondence between lord Castlereagh and M. Talleyrand, and it certainly was in agitation to remove Napoleon to a situation more remote from his family and friends, and less dangerous to the future tranquillity of Europe. These circumstances served to hasten the grand catastrophe.

The preparations made for the hazardous enterprize now preparing to burst upon an astonished world, formed a striking contrast with those made by the same personage some years before, for the invasion of England. For the army that was now to invade France, one day's notice was all that was deemed necessary: instead of 200,000 men, here were probably lesss than 1,000: the flotilla on board which they were embarked consisted of the Inconstant, of 26 guns, L'Etoile and La Caroline bombardes, and four feluccas. The orders to embark were not received till one in the afternoon, and at eight o'clock in the evening of the 26th of February, the expedition, with the Emperor and his staff on board the Inconstant, sailed from Porto Ferrajo, at the signal of a single gun. Every thing had been for some time in motion; crowds of old men, women, and children, eagerly rushed to the shore, and thronged round the faithful companions of Napoleon, contending with each other for the honour of touching them, seeing, and embracing them for the last time.

At eight in the evening, the firing of a gun was the signal for departure. The French rushed into their boats, martial music struck up, and the flotilla, consisting of the brig Inconstant, and six other light vessels, carrying from nine to eleven hundred men, sailed majestically from the shore, amid the shouts of "Vive l'Empereur." Napoleon

when he set his foot on board the vessel was calm and serene, only exclaiming with Cæsar, "The die is cast." Count Bertrand's eyes sparkled with hope and joy. Drouet and Gorgaud were pensive and serious. The old grenadiers resumed their martial aspect, and Napoleon chatted and joked with them incessantly. All were burning to know their destination; but none dared to ask the question; at length Napoleon broke silence:—"Grenadiers, (said he) we are going to France; we are going to Paris." At these words every countenance expanded. An English sloop of war, under captain Campbell, which seemed to have the charge of watching the island of Elba, at the moment of embarkation, was at Leghorn; however, several vessels were in sight and excited some apprehensions. These were soon increased by a calm, and at day-break the flotilla was still between the islands of Elba and Caprea, having advanced no more than six leagues. About noon the wind freshened a little, and at four o'clock they were off Leghorn. A frigate and a man of war brig were still in sight, and the latter was coming down upon the Imperial flotilla right before the wind. The Emperor ordered the soldiers of the guard to take off their caps and go below. At six o'clock the French brig Le Zephyr, passed alongside the Inconstant, and the captain enquired after the Emperor, when he was answered by Napoleon himself, "that the Emperor was extremely well." The other brig and the Zephyr now steered different courses, without the least suspicion of the valuable prize which they had suffered to escape. In the night of the 27th, the wind continued to freshen, and at day-break, a 74 gun ship was descried steering for St. Fiorenza or Sardinia, but it was soon perceived that she took no notice of the flotilla.

Before Napoleon had left Elba, he had prepared two proclamations; one addressed to the French people, the other to the army. They were couched

in his usual animated style, and dated Gulf of Juan, March 1, 1815.

In his address to the people, he reminded them that the defection of the duke of Castiglione had last year given up Lyons to the Austrians, instead of taking the left flank of the enemy in the rear, which then threatened Paris. He also reminded them of the victories of Champ Aubert, Montmirail, Chateau, Thierry, Monterau, Craone, Rheims, Arcy-sur-Aube, St. Dizier, &c. and of the position he had taken in the rear of the enemy's army, cutting it off from its magazines, parks of reserve and convoys, when the treachery of the duke of Ragusa (Marmont) gave up the capital and disorganized the army.

"I have, (said he) crossed the seas amid perils of every kind, to resume my rights, which are also your's;" adding, "there is no nation that has not possessed the right of withdrawing, and that has not withdrawn itself from the disgrace of obeying a prince imposed upon it by an enemy temporarily victorious."

On the 1st of March, at three o'clock in the afternoon, they entered the Gulf of Juan. At five the Emperor landed and took up his quarters for the night in a field surrounded with olives.—"This," Napoleon exclaimed, "is a happy omen: may it be realized." Among a few peasants that appeared, was one who had formerly served under Napoleon, and knowing him, would not quit him. "See," said the Emperor to Bertrand, "We have got a re-inforcement already." He spent the evening chatting and laughing familiarly with his guards. Five and twenty men who had been sent forward to Antibes, to sound the garrison, under the pretext that they were deserters from Elba, behaved so imprudently that the French commandant of the garrison ordered the draw-bridge to be raised, and detained them as prisoners. Napoleon finding they did not return, dispatched an officer to the walls of Antibes to harangue the soldiers,

but he found the gates of the town and the harbour both closed, and that it was not possible to see general Corsin, or to speak to the soldiers.—Napoleon, though a little disconcerted at this event, began his march at eleven at night with four small pieces of artillery in his train. He proceeded to Cannes, thence to Grasses, and in the evening of the 2nd, arrived at the village of Cerenon. On the 3rd, he slept at Bareme, and at Digne on the 4th. The peasants blessed his return, but when they saw his little troop, they looked on him with pity, and very little hope. On the 5th he slept at Gap, and here first printed his proclamations, which were distributed with the rapidity of lightning. In these proclamations he stiled himself "Emperor," as he knew that any other title would only weaken his authority. On the 6th at two in the afternoon, he left Gap, and the whole city went to see him set off. At St. Bonnel the inhabitants proposed sounding the alarm-bell, to collect the neighbouring villages, and accompany him in a body, but Napoleon declined the offer: on the same night he slept at Gorp. At Sisteron the people were willing to furnish more provisions than were demanded; and when the battalion of Elba appeared, they offered it a tri-coloured flag. Three leagues from Gorp the Emperor found a battallion of the 5th regiment, a company of sappers, &c. in all seven or eight hundred opposed to him. He sent Raoul to parley with them; they would not hear him. Napoleon then alighting from his horse, marched straight to the detachment, followed by his guard, with arms secured, "What, my friends!" said he to them, "Do you not know me?—I am your Emperor; if there be a soldier among you who is willing to kill his general—his Emperor, he may do it: here I am," and he placed his hand upon his breast.—"Long live the Emperor!" was the answer, in an unanimous shout.

It seems a division of royalists continued to co-

ver Grenoble, which the soldiers who had now joined Buonaparté, being anxious to march against, their request was granted. Before they had reached Vizelle, the crowd of inhabitants increased every instant; but between this place and Grenoble, an adjutant-major came to announce, that colonel Labedoyere had separated from the troops at Grenoble, and was hastening with his regiment to meet the Emperor.

Soon after, loud shouts were heard at a distance; the soldiers when they approached, being impatient to join, broke their ranks, and nothing was heard but "the guard for ever!—the 7th for ever!" Napoleon, thus seeing his forces and the public spirit increasing at every step, resolved to enter Grenoble that very evening; when, before he reached the city, a young merchant, an officer of the national guard, offered his services, and 100,000 francs. Farther on he was joined by a party of officers, by whom he learnt that general Marchand and the prefect of Grenoble had declared against him, drawn the troops into the town, and closed the gates; and that the ramparts were covered by the 3rd regiment of engineers, composed of 2,000 sappers, all veterans, covered with honorable scars; by the 4th artillery of the line, some battalions of the 5th, and hussars of the 4th. Napoleon, however, and his party, with their arms reversed, and marching with joyful irregularity, approached the walls singing. Nothing was heard but "Grenoble for ever!"—"France for ever!" The garrison, the national guard, and the townspeople, spread over the ramparts, beheld at first with surprize and emotion, these transports of joy and attachment; and it was not long before they partook of them; the besiegers and the besieged uttered at once the rallying words, "Long live the Emperor!" The people and the soldiers rushed to the gates, which were in an instant beaten down, and Napoleon surrounded, thronged by an idolizing crowd, made his triumphant entry

into Grenoble. Soon after, the people came and brought him the fragments of the gates, with trumpets sounding, and said, " for want of the keys of the good town of Grenoble, here are the gates for you " Here Napoleon questioned young Labedoyere on the state of Paris, and of France in general. Full of the noblest sentiments, the frankness with which he expresed himself sometimes staggered Napoleon. " Sire," he said, " the French will do every thing for your Majesty, but then your Majesty must do every thing for them: *no more ambition, no more despotism: we are determined to be free and happy.* It is necessary, Sire, to renounce that system of conquest and power which occasioned the misfortunes of France and of yourself." Napoleon promised every thing if he should succeed.

Proclamations, &c. printed at Grenoble, were diffused in every direction, and couriers dispatched to announce Napoleon's entrance into that city, and his prospects of success. Here he reviewed the garrison of 6,000 men, which afterwards set out on its march to Lyons. The Empress and prince Joseph Buonaparté, were written to from Grenoble, and it was carefully made known to the people that Marie-Louise and her son, were coming to join the Emperor.

The news of the Emperor's landing did not reach Paris till the 5th of March at night. It transpired on the 6th, and on the 7th, a royal proclamation appeared in the Moniteur, convoking the Chambers immediately. A decree was also issued, placing Napoleon, and all who should join him, out of the protection of the law. On the 8th, the Moniteur announced, that Buonaparté had landed with 1,100 men, most of whom had deserted him; that he was wandering in the mountains with only a few attendants; that he had been refused provisions; was in want of every thing; and must soon give himself up to his pursuers. All manner of falsehoods and empty boasts were propagated

among the Royalists; and on the 11th of March, an officer in the King's household appeared in the balcony of the Tuilleries, and waving his hat announced that the King had just received an official account, that the duke of Orleans, at the head of 20,000 of the national guard of Lyons, had attacked Buonaparté, and completely beaten him. On the 12th, this victory was contradicted, and a decree that followed for assembling a new army in front of Paris, and a call upon the 3,000,000 of national guards to take up arms, sufficiently indicated the danger apprehended by the King and his friends. In fine, the defection of marshal Ney, completely removed the veil of deception. The King again swore to maintain the charter; but in the course of a few days he left Paris for Ghent, and Buonaparté, and his troops, made another triumphant entry.

In the interim, when Napoleon approached the city of Lyons, he found the count D'Artois with marshal Macdonald, determined, as he was told, te defend the place; however, as at Grenoble, he was received with shouts of "Long live the Emperor!" by the immense population, as well as by the troops. The count D'Artois fancied he could gain the military by the distribution of money; but they were deaf to his words, intreaties, and promises. Passing before the 13th regiment of dragoons, he said to one of them decorated with three *chevrons* and with scars, "Come, comrade, shout Long live the King!" "No, Sir, no soldier will fight against his father. I can only answer you by saying, Long live the Emperor!" Confused and in despair, the count exclaimed, "All is lost!" Marshal Macdonald, who was well known to the soldiers, did restrain them for a few moments; but moved, seduced, borne away by the incitements of the people and Buonaparté's hussars, they rushed to the barricadoes and burst them, and were quickly in the arms and in the ranks of

the soldiers of Napoleon. At five in the evening, the whole garrison joined him; at six, the Imperial army took possession of the city, and at seven, Napoleon made his solemn entry, proceeding alone before his troops, but preceded and followed by an immense crowd, expressing, by incessant acclamations, the intoxication, the happiness, and pride they felt at seeing him again. He alighted at the archbishop's palace, which, with his person, he entrusted to the national guard. He rejected the services of the horse-guards, assigning as his reason, their ill behaviour to the count D'Artois.—This corps, chiefly composed of nobles, after having sworn they would die for the Count, Napoleon was informed, had deserted him, one excepted, who remained faithfully attached to his escort, till the moment he thought the Prince out of danger. Napoleon, who loved a noble action, not only commended the conduct of this generous Lyonese, but appointed him a member of the Legion of Honour. At Lyons Napoleon was joined by his friend and confidant, M. Fleury de Chaboulon, of whom he enquired into the state of the public mind at Paris, and after various individuals. He wished to know what Augereau and Marmont were about. Was told that Ney had boasted of ill treating him before he set out for Elba; of having laid his pistols upon his table: all this was false.—"Had Ney dared" said he, "to have failed in respect to me, I would have ordered him to be shot. He abdicated (he said) not in consequence of their advice, but because his army was out of its senses. The report (he said) that Augereau, when he met him, loaded him with reproaches, was a lie." No one of his generals would have dared to have forgot what was due to him in his presence: had he known of Augereau's proclamation, he would have forbidden him his presence.—Asking after his sister Hortense, he was told, "That the house of this Queen, though without a throne, was still the resort of men who knew how to ap-

preciate wit and elegance." Napoleon then blamed her for having her son made a duke of St. Leu, and a peer of the Bourbons. Her husband was in the right to oppose it. She, herself, he was told, did not demand the title of duchess; it was the emperor Alexander: who also insisted upon the honours due to the empress Josephine, being paid her at her decease, which otherwise would not have been granted. He showed himself the protector of the Empress, the Queen, prince Eugene, the duke of Vicenza (Caulincourt), and others, who but for him would have been persecuted or ill-treated. To the question, whether Alexander had seen young Napoleon? the answer was, "Yes, Sire; I have been assured that he embraced him with a tenderness truly paternal.—He is (said he) a charming fellow; how have I been deceived?" "What did he mean by that?" "They say he had been informed that the young prince was ricketty and imbecile." "Wretches!—he is an admirable child; he gives every indication of becoming a distinguished character. He will be an honour to his age." "Is it true that so much was made of Alexander at Paris?" "Yes, Sire; but for him the English would have ruined Paris, and the Prussians have set it on fire. He acted his part well." (with a smile) "If I were not Napoleon, perhaps I would be Alexander."

Hitherto the civil government under Louis had remained unchanged; but by several decrees issued by Napoleon from Lyons, on the 13th of March, the chambers were dissolved, and a variety of changes made, which at once embraced every part of the civil and military administration of the state. On the same day, Napoleon left the city of Lyons, with a high encomium upon its fidelity and attachment.

At Maçon, the next place at which the Emperor slept, he was curiously addressed by one of the corporation, in a long ridiculous harangue. When the orator had finished, Napoleon said to him,

"You were much astonished then at hearing of our landing?" "Yes faith, when I knew you had landed, I said to every body the man must be mad, he will never be able to escape." Napoleon could not help laughing at his simplicity. "I know (said he, with a sarcastic smile), that you are all a little inclined to be frightened: you gave me a proof of this last campaign; you should have behaved as the men of Chalons did." At Maçon Buonaparté received the first official intelligence of what was going on at Paris. He laughed at the emigrants who were to defend the King. "What indeed (said he) could he do with the old puppets that are about him. One of our grenadiers would knock down a hundred of them with the butt end of his musket."

Approaching Chalons, the Emperor perceived artillery and ammunition waggons, and was surprized; "They were intended" said the people, "to act against you, but we have stopped them on their way, and present them to you." "That is right, my lads!—you have always been good citizens. I have not forgotten that you resisted the enemy forty hours, and valiantly defended the passage of the Saone. Had all the French possessed your courage and patriotism, not a single foreigner would have escaped out of France,"

On the 16th, the Emperor slept at Avalon, and here an officer of the staff came and brought marshal Ney's submission, and his orders of the day, in which he announced to the troops, that the cause of the Bourbons was lost for ever; that liberty was at length triumphant, and that their august Emperor was about to confirm it, and would be at Paris in a few days.

On the 17th, the Emperor arrived at Auxerre. He alighted at the prefect's house. On the mantlepiece of the first saloon were the busts of the Empress and her son, and in the next a whole length portrait of Napoleon, in his imperial robes. At eight o'clock in the evening Ney arrived, and on the following day received a very cordial recep-

tion. The Emperor, as soon as he perceived him, said, " Embrace me, my dear Marshal, I am glad to see you; I have honoured and esteemed you as the bravest of the brave " The Marshal ended his compliments to Napoleon, and the profession of his own patriotism, with observing, " that the Bourbons incessantly sought to humiliate them, I am (said he) still enraged when I think that a marshal of France, like me, was obliged to kneel down before that * * * of a duke of B——, to receive the cross of St. Louis. It could not last; and if you had not come to expel them, we should have driven them out ourselves." Here the Emperor wrote to the Empress for the third time; and about this period, he had heard of so many plots against his life as to produce a painful impression, and he could not help contrasting this disposition for assassinating him, with the conduct he had observed towards many of his bitterest enemies when they were completely in his power. In advance of Fossard, the King's regiment of dragoons were drawn up in order of battle, for the purpose of joining him.

On the road to Fontainbleau the Emperor was informed that 2000 of the body guards were drawn up in the forest to oppose him. Hitherto, his only escort had been the carriage of general Drouet, which preceded his, and M. Fleury's, which closed the march. Some officers and three or four Polanders galloped by the side of them. The horses, the postillions, the couriers, were decked with tricoloured ribbands, and gave the whole party an air of festivity.

At two o'clock on the 20th of March Napoleon set out for Paris, but retarded by the crowd, and the felicitations of the troops, and the generals who came to meet him, he could not reach it till nine in the evening. As soon as he alighted, the people rushed on him; a thousand arms bore him up, and carried him along in triumph to the Tuilleries. The halls of the palace seemed metamorphosed into

a field of battle, where friends and brothers had unexpectedly escaped from death, found and embraced one another after victory.

The very evening of his arrival, Napoleon had a long conversation with the duke of Otranto and other dignitaries of the state, on the situation of France, Napoleon could not disguise his rapture; "never was he seen so madly gay or so prodigal of boxes on the ear, his favorite compliment. The fonder he was of a person the more he gave him, and the harder he struck"

Prince Cambaceres was with reluctance placed at the head of the new administration, as minister of justice. The prince of Echmuhl was named minister of war. The duke of Vicenza was made minister of foreign affairs. The duke of Gaëte and count Mollien again became ministers of the finances and the treasury; and the duke of Otranto had the charge of the police.

From no other person except the duke of Vicenza did the Emperor hear more bold and useful truths. Even his ministerial correspondence testifies that France and Europe were tired of shedding blood; and that if he did not renounce his system of war, he would be abandoned by the French, and precipitated from the throne by foreigners.

As it cannot but gratify the curiosity of our readers to be made acquainted with the sensations excited in Paris by the return of Napoleon, we have borrowed the following narrative from an eye-witness.

"At this momentous crisis, I resided in the Fauxbourg St. Germain, when having business one morning on the other side of the water, I proceeded down the Rue de Bac, but stopped in my way at the caffé Guerraz, which I found extremely crowded, while a strange appearance of anxiety was depicted on every countenance, several persons surrounding each individual who had been fortunate enough to get a newspaper, the contents of which the lucky possessor was reading aloud to the by-

standers; as the incessant buzz prevented my gaining any information, I enquired of the *limonadiere* at the *comptoir*, the reason of the novel scene I witnessed, upon which, she exclaimed with astonishment,—"Good heaven? is it possible, sir, you should not have heard that the Emperor is landed in France? such being indeed the earliest information I had acquired of this wonderful event. All endeavours to convey a faithful picture of the extraordinary scene that now presented itself would be utterly impossible; people running in all directions, seemed to have forgotten the avocations for which they left their homes; at every hundred paces you met a group in close conversation; *gend'armes* on horse and foot, were proceeding with rapidity in different directions; at the Tuilleries, upon 'Change, along the Boulevards, all was hurry and confusion, while many old soldiers, hoping that the Emperor might arrive at the capital in safety, forgot, in their eagerness, the prudence which should have guided them, and in the exultation of the moment, cried out, '*Vive l'Empereur*,' two instances of which I witnessed in front of the Garde Meuble, Place Louis Quinze; these men were forthwith seized, and hurried away to the *corps de garde*. In short, all regular routine of business was totally at a stand; a species of public fever was the consequence, and the national pulse defied all the efforts of reason to bring it back to a tone of sanity. In this state of mental delirium, the day passed over, but with return of night, the sensation was, if possible, encreased; the caffés were crowded to excess, while the vigilance of the police had redoubled its precautions, by stationing additional *gen d'armes* in every quarter; added to which, the *mouchards*, under all disguises, mingled with the crowds to ascertain and report the state of public feeling, as well as to stop all such whose conduct should render them amenable to the existing laws; many arrestations in consequence took place, and actuated by various contending pas-

sions, the inhabitants of Paris at length retired to their respective quarters, awaiting with unparallelled anxiety, the arrival of news as to the failure or success of Napoleon's hazardous undertaking.

"At a very early hour the next morning, the city was in motion, when it was given out that if three persons were seen stationary in the street, they should immediately be dispersed; and by the middle of the day numerous reports were afloat, most of which emanated from government, stating the complete failure of Napoleon, and his imprisonment, immediately after landing; others detailed his assassination by the indignant populace, while another related that the soldiery having forced him to surrender, he was shot as a traitor by military law, and his head chopped off in order to be sent to Paris, and there publicly exposed. But as to any real statements, not a word transpired that could be relied upon, all letters from the south being inspected at the post-office; added to this, the diligences were searched on entering Paris, while at the barriers, which were kept closed, guards were stationed, together with the most vigilant emissaries of the police.

"All these precautions, however, were not sufficient to prevent some of the facts attending the landing of Napoleon from gaining the capital; but at last the government, though reluctantly, announced the same officially, accompanied by an ordinance, declaring him, and all who should assist, to be traitors, and ordering the magistrates, army, and people, to proceed against him accordingly.

"While this information was gradually made public in the capital, a thousand reports were spread; and certainly had Napoleon been a cat, his nine lives would not have sufficed him, as I am certain he was killed twenty times, and in as many different ways; however, upon his arrival at Grenoble, which is a large and populous city, the sensation at Paris became very apparent indeed, nor

could all the vigilance and rigorous measures of the police, and arrestations hourly made in all directions, prevent the expressions of joy which arose from a conviction of his ultimate arrival in safety at the capital.

" Those persons who were not witnesses of the fact, can form no idea of the incalculable sale of Napoleon's proclamation, dated from the gulf of Juan the 1st of March, wherein he stated, ' *La Victoire marchera au pas de charge,—L' Aigle avec les couleurs nationales, volera de clocher en clocher, jusqu'aux tours de Notre Dame :*' in short, the above words were in every one's mouth.

" On the evening of the 19th, between ten and eleven at night, I passed through the Place Carousel in my way home; all was perfectly quiet at the Tuilleries, where the only circumstance that struck me was, there being more lights than usual in the windows of the long façade; nothing, however, gave the least indication of the speedy departure of the royal family, which took place about two hours after, of which I was not aware until the following morning at half past nine, when I observed, on gaining the Pont-Royal, that no sentries were stationed there, and that all the windows of the palace were closed, while upon gaining the pedestal of the first colossal figure that intersects the iron railing in the Place Carousel, I found a large placard posted upon it, whereon appeared the following ludicrous notice, in striking characters.— ' *Chateau a louer bien meuble si ce n'est la Baterie de cuisine que le dernier proprietaire a emporte avec lui.*' ' *Palace to let, well furnished, except the kitchen utensils, which have been carried away by the late proprietor.*' And upon the second pedestal, ' *Gros et gras cochon a vendre pour un Napoleon.*' ' *A large fat hog to be sold for one Napoleon.*' Such were the first intimations I had respecting the departure of Louis and the family, of which Buonaparté was apprised at Fontainbleau by seven o'clock in the morning, when he imme-

diately set off in a carriage for Paris, attended only by a few hussars and dragoons, driving with great rapidity.

" From the moment that the departure of the Bourbons was made public, the arrival of the Emperor was anxiously expected, and consequently on the 20th of March, at an early hour, no inconsiderable bustle was manifested throughout Paris. Numerous reports were in circulation as to the barrier by which he would enter, as well as the precise hour when he might be expected. Thus, being misled by contradictory statements, I proceeded in various directions, and about mid-day, was attracted, with multitudes, to the Boulevard Montmartre, where I arrived in time to see a body of about 2,000 troops covered with dirt and dust, who were accompanying several pieces of heavy artillery, every man wearing the tri-coloured cockade; while at stated intervals of five minutes, as they advanced, shouts of " *Vive l'Empereur!*' rent the air, in which they were joined by vociferations of the populace who accompanied them, every soldier having a citizen linked to either arm, demanding tidings concerning the march of Napoleon, and the period of his arrival at the capital. This motley cavalcade was slow in its progress, for at certain periods a halt was made in order to gratify the populace, who insisted upon regaling the companions of the Emperor, for which purpose all the surrounding wine shops were put in a state of requisition, when immense cans were brought out at the expense of the people, who with the troops toasted the Emperor, general Bertrand, the Old Guard, &c. &c. with an enthusiasm which none but an eye-witness can figure to his imagination. In this manner they continued along the Boulevards, turning down the Rue de la Paix, and halted in the Place Vendome, where it appears they were to remain till further orders.

" I repaired to the Tuilleries, taking my station as near as possible to the entrance of the Pavillon

de Flore, when, after waiting hour after hour, during which period the expectant but wearied crowds were many times replaced by fresh comers, at past six o'clock, on a sudden, a distant shout was heard, which continued rapidly increasing, and after a lapse of some minutes, a small escort galloped into the square, and immediately afterwards a carriage rattled along at full speed, containing the object so long and ardently expected by the accompanying multitudes, who, with Bertrand and Drouet, made signs to the shouting populace, while numerous general officers surrounded the vehicle uncovered, mingling their affectionate sentiments with those of the crowd.

"On gaining the portal, it was with infinite difficulty that Napoleon could alight, from the dreadful pressure, and no sooner had he gained the bottom of the grand stair-case, than he was raised from the ground and borne up the flight of stairs upon the shoulders of the officers, during which operation his constant cry was, '*Soyez sage, mes bon enfans! Soyez sage, je vous en prie!*' 'Be steady, my good children; be steady I entreat you;' but to expect subordination at such a moment was fallacious, as the general impulse approximated to madness; in proof of which, a piece of the flap of his coat being either purposely or by accident torn off, was instantly divided into hundreds of scraps, for the procurement of each remnant of which, by way of relic, there was as much struggling as if the effort had been made to become possessed of so many ingots of gold.

"On the ensuing morning a report was spread that a national guard, upon duty at the Tuilleries, had discovered a secret train, whereto a match was connected, which was made to burn so many hours, and, at the expiration of that time, the portion of the building inhabited by Napoleon would have been destroyed by an explosion of gunpowder. This statement was very current throughout Paris. On the night of the Emperor's arrival, he issued

orders to general Excelmans to follow the troop of horse attached to the royal establishment, at the head of 3,000 men, and either to take, to dissolve, or to drive it beyond the frontiers. But this military corps was composed of such heterogeneous elements that it had disbanded of itself; the remnants being hemmed in and disarmed at Bethune, while another straggling party proceeded as far as Neuve Eglise, where the count D'Artois issued his orders for its disbanding. All the horses, baggage, and magazines of this troop fell into the hands of general Excelmans; while the officers and guards, pursued by the country people, threw away their military equipments, and assumed every species of disguise in order to escape the popular indignation.

"I repaired at an early hour in the morning to the Tuilleries gardens, where I already found thousands assembled to view Napoleon, who appeared at one of the windows every five minutes, when he was saluted with incessant acclamations, and, if absent from popular observation for any longer period, he was compelled to show himself, as the clamour became so loud and imperious. Upon one of these occasions, Bertrand stood beside him, whom he good-naturedly pulled by the ear, and patted upon the shoulder, exclaiming, as he performed the action, '*Le brave ne m'a jamais quitte!*' 'This brave fellow never abandoned me!' As the windows of the apartment were wide open, I could perceive that Napoleon constantly traversed the chamber, accompanied by a female, whom upon inquiry I learned was the queen Hortensia. And another circumstance which I noticed was, that upon his presenting himself to the public in this manner, numerous individuals among the crowd held up petitions, who, upon the Emperor's retiring from the window, were desired by Bertrand, or some other officer, to deliver them to a sentry stationed below at no great distance; when after the lapse of a few minutes Napoleon again appeared

with the bundle of papers in his left hand, which he held forth to view, and then placing his right hand upon his heart, he bowed his head two or three times, thereby intimating that it was his intention to peruse every document himself, and not commit the petitions of his subjects to the decision of any other individual.

Louis departed from Paris with such precipitation, that he had not time to carry away his private papers. Napoleon found his writing table covered with mystic authors; but in their room he ordered plans and maps. "The closet of a French monarch (said he) should resemble the tent of a general, not an oratory." In the King's family port-folio a number of letters from the duchess D'Angouleme was found, Napoleon cast his eye over them, but ordered them to be strictly preserved. Upon a small table which the King had brought from Hartwell, Napoleon took pleasure in writing for a few hours; after which he ordered it to be removed and the greatest care taken of it.—The Merlin's chair used by the King was banished to the back closet. Some person being found sitting in it as the Emperor passed through unexpectedly, he gave him an angry look, and the chair was removed. One of his valets thinking to please him, ventured to place over his mantlepiece some insulting characters of the Bourbons, these he disdainfully threw into the fire, and severely enjoined the valet never to be guilty of such impertinence in future.

When upon business Napoleon rarely sat down, but dictated as he walked about. He did not like to repeat his words. If he was asked for a word not clearly understood, he would answer with impatience, "I said," and then go on. Much of his writing, dictated with too much precipitancy, he would frequently correct the next day, and sometimes obliterate altogether.

By his decree of the 24th of March, the censors,

the censorship, and the superintendance of the book-selling trade, were altogether suppressed, though he foresaw that the Royalists would employ it in the cause of the Bourbons; and that the Jacobins would also make use of the press to calumniate his sentiments.

At length, Sunday, March the 26th, was appointed as the day on which the Emperor would give an account of the new constitution intended for France. The answers to the addresses were couched in general terms, and the Emperor did not at that time pledge himself to any specific measures, beyond the copious use of the words, "national glory, liberty, country," &c. However, the example of Paris was soon followed; the public functionaries, the judicial and administrative bodies in the departments, who but a few days before had offered up prayers to heaven, and to the King, for the extermination of the Corsican, the tyrant, and the usurper, were eager to congratulate the *Emperor* on his miraculous return, and to confer on him the titles of hero, deliverer, and legitimate sovereign.

The re-establishment of the imperial government took place on all sides with a promptitude and facility truly extraordinary. Marshal Augereau, who had endeavoured in his proclamation of 1814, to disgrace the Emperor, was eager to make his recantation in a fresh proclamation. The duke of Belluno and count Gouvion St. Cyr, after making vain efforts to curb their insurgent troops, were glad to escape from their resentment by flight.—The military household of the King had submitted to their discharge, and readily surrendered their horses and arms. In fine, the royal family having evacuated the imperial territory, the Emperor thought proper to acquaint the army, in person, with these happy results. "Thanks to the French people and to you (said he on reviewing the troops on the 27th of March), the imperial throne is re-established. It is acknowleged throughout the empire, and not a single drop of blood has been spilt.

The count de Lille, the count D'Artois, the duke De Berry, the duke of Orleans, have passed our northern frontier, and sought an asylum among foreigners. The tri-coloured flag waves on the towers of Calais, Dunkirk, Lille, Valenciennes, Condé, &c." When marshal Ney was sent on a mission to the north and east frontiers, he was directed, in express words by Napoleon, " to cause the royal family to be respected, and facilitate its procuring the means of quitting France freely and quietly." General Excelmans had similar instructions. Ney, it seems, had been ordered to set off immediately; but he answered, " he could not go till he was paid some 20,000 francs that were owing to him." The Emperor, swearing, ordered them to be paid. Lecourbe and some other generals, also demanded arrears of pay, which made Buonaparté exclaim, " Do these men think that I throw away my money, or will suffer myself to be plundered like Henry IV. if they are not inclined to fight, let them put on petticoats, and go and take an airing."

The King quitted Lille on the 23d of March; all the reports of an order for his arrest sent from Paris were utterly void of truth. The duke of Orleans remained at Lille twenty-four hours after the King's departure.

The duke of Orleans when he parted from his officers, said to colonel Athalen, " Go, Sir, resume the national cockade I take a pride in having worn it, and I wish I could wear it still." The Emperor appeared struck with these words; and soon after ordered that the duchess of Orleans, whose property had been sequestrated, should receive annually from the public treasury 300,000 francs, as an indemnification. Soon after, a considerable sum was granted to the duchess of Bourbon, and the duke was allowed to embark at Nantes for England, after having sounded the dispositions of the Vendeans with no prospect of success. He however roamed about the French coast for some

time with a fictitious passport, and under a borrowed name.

Of all the family of the Bourbons, the duke and duchess of Angouleme alone persisted in the struggle against Napoleon. The duchess was at Bourdeaux at the time of the landing from Elba. Even after what she had heard had taken place at Paris, she made the national guard at Bourdeaux take up arms; she hastened to the barracks to harangue the soldiers, and exerted herself with such spirit and activity that Napoleon himself was pleased to say, "The duchess D'Angouleme is the only *man* in the family."

The subsequent efforts of the Duke, her husband in the south of France, were much more formidable, and even gave the Emperor some uneasiness, especially as besides the inhabitants of the south of France, the Duke had 4,000 soldiers in his ranks.

A fresh defection among the troops, and the approach of those detached in pursuit of him, by Napoleon, after very little bloodshed, caused the Duke to retire from the scene of action to Valence.

The Emperor himself caused the following account of this little war to appear in the Moniteur:

"*Valence*, 7th of April. The duke of Angouleme has made a sad figure here. The alarm-bell sounded through Dauphiny, and numerous battalions of the national guards departed for Lyons. The Duke, informed of their arrival, set off helter-skelter with the 4,000 insurgents who are under his orders. The troops of the line informed by our citizens that we were engaged in the cause of the nation against a few privileged families; of the people against the nobility, and in short of the revolution against the counter revolution, suddenly changed sides. The army, however, reckons three traitors, generals Ernouf, Mounier, and D'Aultannie." He forgot general Loverdo. "The duke D'Angouleme, nearly abandoned by all his followers, surrendered to general Gilly, and having formally disbanded his army, was allowed by Na-

Duchess of Angouleme.

poleon to embark at Cette, from whence he sailed for Cadiz. His capitulation and departure soon led to the submission of Marseilles, which had taken part with the Royalists, when the royal standard was hauled down, and the tri-coloured flag hoisted in its stead, without any disturbance. The Emperor named general Grouchy marshal of the empire, but to punish the 11th regiment for the part they took at the passage of the Drome, he decreed, that this regiment should wear a piece of crape on its colours till it had washed in the blood of the enemy those arms which it had stained with the blood of Frenchmen: this decree, however, was not put into execution." During a review of the Parisian national guard, in consequence of the threats and execrations of some grenadiers of the royal ex-volunteers against the Emperor, he was followed by some of his own grenadiers unknown to him, who were directed not to lose sight of him for a moment. Whilst walking his horse along the ranks, this escort had followed him without his paying any attention to it; but when he set off at a gallop, he was aware that his grenadiers were galloping after him, he stopped —"What do you do there?" said he to one of them. "Go about your business!" The old grumbler (a nick-name given to his old grenadiers), appeared not much disposed to obey. The Emperor then took hold of him by his hairy cap, and giving it a hearty shake, repeated, with a smile, his order to him to retire. "Go all of you away; I am surrounded by none but good Frenchmen. I am as safe with them as with you." The national guards, who heard these words, cried out spontaneously, "Yes, yes, Sire, you are; we would all defend your life at the expence of our own." After a speech addressed to the national guards, an oath was administered to them, by which they swore to sacrifice every thing to the honour and independence of France. Lest any ill blood should remain between

his guards and the Parisians for having surrendered so promptly in 1814, Napoleon caused their meeting at this review to be celebrated by a dinner, to which the imperial guards invited the national guard and the garrison of Paris.

About this period Napoleon sent another letter to the Empress Marie Louise. The emperor of Austria ordered it to be delivered into his hands, and contented himself with informing his daughter that he had received news of her husband, and that he was well. Neither Napoleon or his ministers neglected any means that could assure the foreign sovereigns of his pacific intentions, and in a letter addressed to them individually and collectively, he gave a solemn and authentic character to the manifestation of these sentiments.

The duke of Vicenza also had orders personally to express the same sentiments to the foreign ministers as those with which the Emperor was animated, but the couriers who carried his despatches, were impeded or arrested; and it was evident that the hostile declaration of the congress of Vienna, on the 13th of March, 1815, was acted upon already. In this declaration, they charged Buonaparté with infringing the convention he had entered into on the 30th of March, 1814, which settled him in the isle of Elba, by re-appearing in France with the design of disturbing and subverting it. The powers declared, in consequence, "that Napoleon had thrown himself out of all the relations of civil society; that they would employ all their means and unite all their efforts to prevent the general peace from being disturbed anew; that they would be ready to furnish the king of France, or any other government that may be attacked, with the succours necessary to restore the public tranquillity, as soon as they shall be demanded," &c. &c. This was signed by the respective ministers of Austria, Spain, France, Prussia, Russia, Sweden, &c. and on the part of Great Britain, by Wellington, Clancarty, and Stewart.

Some of the French persuaded themselves that this declaration of Congress would heigthen their courage and more inseparably unite the whole nation in the cause of Napoleon, but M de Talleyrand had been for some considerable time at Vienna, and his intrigues were more than sufficient to paralyze all the exertions of Napoleon and those of his adherents. At the same time the ill advised interference of Murat, king of Naples, and the hostilities commenced by him in Italy against the Austrians, extinguished every ray of hope which might otherwise have been indulged. Murat had most egregiously deceived himself: all his consequence was borrowed from Napoleon, personally he enjoyed no weight, no influence in Italy. The Italians could not forgive him for having previously deserted Napoleon in 1814, or for having revealed to Austria the patriotic conspiracy of Milan in 1815.

Napoleon now found that he must struggle alone against all his enemies. The royal government had totally disorganized the army, reduced the regiments one half, and dispersed the soldiers among new battalions; Napoleon having to establish them on their former footing, restored them their glorious surnames of Invincible—Incomparable—Terrible—One to Ten, &c.—But all his means were inadequate to the force and influence against which he had again to contend.

Besides the foreign allies, Napoleon had a more potent enemy in the priests and nobles at home: "These, (he observed, in a fit of ill humour) are playing a deep game. If I were to let the people loose upon them, they would all be devoured in the twinkling of an eye." Added to these, Fouché was at that period a more dangerous enemy than all the rest, and was even protecting several of the Royalists in his own house, whom Napoleon had ordered to remove to the distance of thirty leagues from Paris.

The Emperor by a decree published on the

9th of April, ordered "the condemnation and the sequestration of the property of the prince of Benevento, the Duke of Ragusa, the duke of Alberg, the abbé Montesquieu, the count de Jaucourt, count de Bournonville, M. Vitrolles," &c &c. All these people, as members of the provisional government, or agents of the royal party, had only concurred in the subversion of the imperial government, previous to the abdication of Napoleon. When this decree was written and sent to Bertrand to sign, he read it and returned it, saying, "I will never sign it; this is not what the Emperor *promised* us; they who advise him to take such measures are his bitterest enemies." This firm and courageous answer being related to Napoleon, he sent again to the Grand Marshal; but as the messenger was unable to overcome his repugnance, count Bertrand, according to his instructions, followed him into the Emperor's closet.—"I am astonished," said Napoleon in a dry tone, "that you make such difficulties about signing with me:—this severity is necessary for the good of the state." "I do not think so, Sire." "I do, I tell you, and it is my business alone to judge. I did not ask your advice, but your signature, which is only a matter of form." Bertrand was firm, and replied, "If your Majesty choose to reign by the laws, you have no right, arbitrarily, to pronounce by a simple decree, sentence of death and forfeiture of property against your subjects. If you choose to act as a dictator, and to have no law but your own will, you have no need of the addition of my signature. Your Majesty has declared by your proclamations that you would grant a general amnesty I countersigned those most cordially, but will not countersign the decree that revokes them." "But you well know," said Napoleon, "that I always told you I never would pardon Marmont, Talleyrand, and Augereau, and that I promised only to overlook what had passed since my abdication. Besides, all those who are on the list, Augereau ex-

cepted, are out of France. I shall not seek them; I only wish to terrify them." In fine, Bertrand persisted in his refusal to sign this new decree, and it appeared without being countersigned.

The effect produced by this decree was its being considered as an act of despotism and revenge.—The murmurs of the people were echoed even within the walls of the palace; and Labedoyère, at a moment when Napoleon was passing, said loud enough to be heard, "if the system of proscriptions and sequestrations begin again, all will soon be over."

The countess Dachetel being asked by Napoleon some time after, if her husband had executed the order for sequestrating the estates of Talleyrand and Company? she answered, "There is no hurry for that" He made no reply, and changed the conversation.

Prince Joseph and prince Lucien both arrived at Paris about this time, to offer them their fortunes and their services; he heard the same patriotic sentiments from them as from marshal Bertrand, but it was his misfortune not to listen to either.

M. Benjamin Constant was also sent for to the Tuilleries, where it is said he arrived with repugnance, but quitted the palace an enthusiast, and was the next day nominated counsellor of state.—Napoleon, it is probable, allayed the apprehensions of the new counsellor, but his future conduct evinced that his own sentiments had not undergone the least alteration.

About the beginning of May, the treachery of Fouché was evident beyond all doubt, though it is said, 'of all the ministers of Napoleon there was not one at the time of his return from Elba, who lavished on him so many protestations of fidelity and devotion to his service as the duke of Otranto."

It was through the interception of some of his correspondence with M. de Metternich at Vienna, that Napoleon learned that M. de Metternich had

retained "the highest opinion of M. Fouché's merit; that he imagined a man like him could not suppose that Napoleon would maintain himself on the throne; that he was persuaded that he (M. Fouché) had accepted the ministry of police only to spare France the calamities of a civil and a foreign war; and that under this persuasion he hoped he would not hesitate to second the efforts the allies were about to make to get rid of Buonaparté, and re-establish the Bourbon's in France."

As to the means of getting rid of Buonaparté it was said, "there is one, the issue of which cannot be doubtful; this is force; but the allies are unwilling to have recourse to it unless in the last extremity; and they would have wished *that* M. Fouché could have found means of delivering France from Buonaparté without shedding fresh torrents of blood." Open assassination at that time the agents of the allies would not hear of. It also transpired that M. Fouché had, on all occasions, expressed to a confidential agent employed by M. Metternich, an inveterate hatred of Buonaparté; that even in 1814 he blamed the allies for not having caused him to be confined to some strong fortress; predicting that he would return from the island of Elba to ravage Europe anew.

Napoleon in the mean time having fresh reasons to distrust Fouché, expressed to a confidant, that he was almost certain that Fouché was intriguing both at London and at Ghent, and regretted that he did not dismiss him before he pretended to make a disclosure of the intrigues of Metternich. "At present (said Napoleon) the opportunity is gone by, and he would every where proclaim me as a suspicious tyrant who had sacrificed him without any cause" At length the Emperor had not the least doubt of Fouché's treachery, but as he foresaw too the approaching commencement of hostilities, he resolved to wait some more favourable opportunity for getting rid of him. If the victory of Fleurus had not been followed by the disasters

of Waterloo, the Emperor's first decree from Brussels would probably have been for displacing the duke of Otranto.

It is remarkable that both England and Austria, in Memoirs published on the 25th of April and May 9, 1815, authentically declared that they had not engaged, by the treaty of the 29th of March, to restore Louis XVIII. to the throne, and that their intentions in pursuing the war, were not to impose on France any particular government whatever.

Instead of the new constitution, which Napoleon had promised to the French, he now resolved to confine himself, at least provisionally, to the promulgation of a Supplementary Act, by way of sanctioning the new guarantees, for which he was already pledged to the nation. Besides, he wished to avoid every thing that would favour the appearance of his begining a new reign: for such it has been observed is human weakness, that after Napoleon had ridiculed the pretensions of "*the King of Hartwell*," he was inclined to persuade himself that his own reign had not been interrupted by his residence in the island of Elba. This Supplemtary or Additional Act, gave great offence, and alienated many of Napoleon's best friends, who insisted "that this was more favourable than the charter or any of the preceding constitutions, to the nobility and their privileges." They disliked the idea of an hereditary and privileged chamber of peers.

Soon after the meeting of the *Champ de Mai*, the Emperor sent count de Flahaut to Vienna, to negociate or demand, publicly, in the name of nature and the law of nations, the deliverance of the Empress and her son: he set out, but could not be allowed to proceed beyond Stutgard. Napoleon had previously attempted, by several letters full of feeling and dignity, to move the justice and sensibility of the Emperor of Austria, but in vain, though it appeared he had almost persuaded the French people of the certainty of her return. Of-

fers had been several times made to the Emperor Napoleon to bring off the Empress and her son, privately, but he never would listen to any thing of the kind.

In fact, every overture, direct or indirect, made to the foreign cabinets had failed. Talleyrand and Fouche still persisted in their attachment to the Bourbons, and the princess Hortense had received from the emperor of Russia this laconic answer: "No peace, no truce with that man, any thing except him." Alexander, it seems, had been tacitly charged with weakness by Talleyrand and the foreign ministers, who strongly remonstrated with him on the danger of leaving Napoleon on a spot so near France and Italy as Elba, and conjured him not to oppose their compelling Napoleon to choose another place of retreat. Alexander, faithful to his engagements in 1814, having guaranteed to Napoleon the possession of that island, would not consent to this. But in 1815, it should seem that he wished to repair the error he had committed, and thus, from duty rather than animosity, he became the most inveterate enemy of Napoleon.

Buonaparté was well informed of every thing going on in foreign countries, but they made him pay dearly for their services. In London, it is said, he had two persons to whom he paid 2000 guineas per month. "If my Germans (said he) were so dear, I must give them up."

The fortification of the capital was the next object of Napoleon's attention, and during this operation he frequently went with a few officers of his houshold to stimulate the zeal of the workmen.—But at the moment when the population of Paris was testifying their attachment to their country and their Emperor, the alarm bell of insurrection resounded through the plains of La Vendee. Seven or eight thousand peasants from Anjou, Poitou, and La Vendee, were collected; this news reached the Emperor after he was in bed. He called M. Fleury to his bed-side, and made him mark down

upon the map, the positions of the insurgents, and of the French, and dictated to him his orders. The rising in La Vendee was soon quelled.

Much about this time the rumour of the defeat and death of Murat, king of Naples, arrived. The Lazaroni having assassinated a few Frenchmen, and the minister of police repaired to the royal palace with the intent of murdering the Queen, the sister of Napoleon. This princess, worthy of the blood that circulated in her veins, was not affrighted by their shouts and threats: she courageously made head against them, and compelled them to return to their obedience. Joachim Murat, who had performed prodigies of valour, considering the slender means he had of opposing the Austrians, whom he had unnecesarily provoked, returned in the night of the 19th of March to Naples. The Queen appeared indignant at seeing him, "Madame (said he to her) I was not able to find death." He departed immediately to prevent his falling into the hands of the Austrians, but the Queen, notwithstanding the dangers that threatened her life, resolved to remain at Naples till her fate and that of the army were decided. When the treaty was signed she went on board an English vessel, and repaired to Trieste.

But whilst the commencement of hostilities against France was only waiting for the arrival of the Russians, the Parisians, not contented with erecting their intrenchments with their own hands, solicited the honour of defending them; and 20,000 men composed of guards, federates of the suburbs, and citizens of all ranks, were formed into battalions for actual service, under the denomination of tiralleurs of the national guard. Unfortunately, however, the arsenals had been plundered in 1814, so that instead of having 600,000 muskets, scarcely enough could be found to arm the troops of the line and the national guards sent to garrison the fortified towns.

Here, however, we may observe, no part of Napoleon's political life, marked as it had always been by the most rapid and extraordinary promptitude in military preparations, afforded a greater display of activity than was manifested during the hundred days which formed the duration of his second reign. Amidst all his political pursuits, he was never diverted from his military preparations. Cannon, muskets, and arms of every description, were founded and forged and issued from the manufactories with incredible celerity. The old corps were recruited; the regular army, which on his return from Elba consisted but of 170,000 men, was increased to 375,000. New levies were instituted under the various names of Free corps, Federées, and Volunteers. The whole kingdom seemed transformed at once into an immense camp, of which Napoleon was the spring and the leader.

The Champ de Mai, long delayed by unforeseen circumstances, was celebrated on the 1st of June; the ceremonies were imposing, and the addresses on the part of the Emperor and the electors were in the true style of eloquence and patriotism; and the whole terminated with the Emperor swearing on the Gospels to observe, and cause to be observed, the constitutions of the empire. He then made the Arch-chancellor proclaim the oath of fealty of the French people, represented by the electors. This oath was spontaneously repeated by thousands and thousands of voices. The last act was the filing off of the troops, about 50,000 men, before Napoleon, amid the acclamations of the whole multitude. The most considerate however blamed Napoleon: they said he had substituted a barren distribution of colours, instead of the grand national congress which he had convened.

The old revolutionists wished him to have abolished the empire, and establish a republic. The partisans of the regency reproached him for not having proclaimed his son Napoleon II. And the

Count Carnot

Liberals said he ought to have laid down the crown, and left the future disposal of it to the sovereign people. But unhappily for himself, Napoleon could do nothing more at the *Champ de Mai* than endeavour to conceal the emptiness of the day under the pomp of a religious and military ceremony. The Emperor was now convinced of the injury he had done himself by his Additional Act, and in order to regain the good opinion of the public, he repeated, to satiety, his determination to collect together those provisions of the constitutional laws that were not yet abrogated, and to form the whole into one sole constituton, that should become the fundamental law of the nation.

M. Carnot, it is asserted, was continually repeating to him, "Sire, do not strive, I conjure you, against public opinion. Your Additional Act has displeased the nation. Promise that you will modify it and render it conformable to its wishes. I repeat to you, Sire, that I have never deceived you: your safety and ours depend on the national will.—This is not all, Sire, the French are become a free people. The appellation of *subject*, which you are continually giving them, wounds and humbles them: call them citizens, or your children. Neither suffer your ministers, your marshals, your great officers, to be called *Monseigneur;* there is no seigneur in a country where equality forms the basis of the laws; there are none but citizens."

CHAPTER XLVI.

State of the Chambers.—Opposition to the Views of Napoleon.—Effect of his Speeches.—Formation of a Council.—Preparations for his Departure for the Army.—Immoderate Desire of speechifying among the Deputies.—Report on the moral State of France.—Fouché sold to the Bourbons.—Error of Napoleon in employing his former Generals.—Treachery discovered in Napoleon's Army.—Affairs of Charleroi, Marchiennes, Fleuries, Quatre Bras, Ligny, and St. Amand.—Battle of Waterloo.—Instances of Individual Suffering and Devotedness.—Proofs of the Treachery of Marshal Grouchy.—Disastrous Retreat of Buonapartē to Paris.

THE approaching opening of the Chambers excited much apprehension in the mind of Napoleon; but he could not divest himself of his old prejudices. The remembrance of the former French assemblies, haunted his imagination "He feared," says one of his friends, "thatthe opposition inherent in representative governments would not be rightly comprehended in France; that it would make a bad impression and clog the sovereign power!"

At last tormented by the sudden application of the popular system, and the dispositions which the deputies inspired, Napoleon rested all his security on the Chamber of Peers.

Napoleon hoped that the Chamber of Deputies would elect his brother Lucien as their president; but consistent with the new tone of independence which the nation had assumed, their choice fell upon M. Lanjunais, a person by no means agreeable to the Emperor. The Chamber was further displeased at not being furnished with the list of the new peers which Napoleon purposely kept back, to see if they would elect Lucien as their president, and M. Dupin maintained "that the oath to be taken to the sovereign by the nation, to be va-

lid and legitimate, should not be administered by virtue of a decree that emanated from the will of the prince; but by virtue of a law, which is the will of the nation constitutionally expressed;" but though this proposal was rejected, it extorted the confession from Buonaparté, "that he perceived with sorrow that the deputies were not disposed to act with him, and that they let no opportunity slip of seeking a quarrel." "I will act," said he, "with them as long as I can, but if they think to make of me a king Log, or a second Louis XVI. they are under a mistake; I am not a man to receive the law from counsellors, or to allow my head to be cut off by factionaries."

The law allowed him the privilege of dissolving the chamber; but on the eve of a war this would have been dangerous, he therefore resolved to conceal his vexation and ill-humour as much as possible.

On the 7th of June, he opened the chambers, and received the oaths of the peers. His speech made a deep impression on the assembly and was received with shouts of "Long live the Emperor." In the concluding speech made by Napoleon to the other chamber, on the 12th of May, in answer to the President, his voice naturally emphatic, gave prominence to the masculine thoughts of which it was composed, and when he arrived at this passage, "Let us not imitate the Lower Empire," he accompanied it with such a penetrating look, that made the instigators of discord in the Chambers cast down their eyes. The sound part of the representatives approved of the Emperor's answer; the rest considered it as a lecture offensive to their dignity. There are some men, who imagine they may push remonstrance to insult, yet cannot listen to prudent and temperate advice without being offended.

Napoleon, as he had announced, set out to join the armies, on the night of the 12th of June. As it was thought the untoward disposition of the

Chamber would increase daily, it is possible that Napoleon resolved to commence the war, vainly hoping that fortune would favour his arms, and that victory would reconcile him to the deputies, or supply him with the means of reducing them to order.

The government, during his absence, consisted of a council composed of prince Joseph, president —prince Lucien. Ministers prince Cambaceres, the prince of Eckmuhl, the duke of Vicenza, the duke of Gaëta, the duke of Decres, the duke of Otranto, count Mollien, count Carnot and others. Napoleon said to them, " To night I set off: do your duty: the French army and I will do ours. I recommend to you union, zeal, and energy."— It is evident that Napoleon was as far from being completely satisfied with his ministers as he was with the deputies; for when the duke of Vicenza solicited the favour of atending him to the army, " If I do not leave *you* at Paris, said he, on whom can I depend."

The day after his departure, the ministers of the interior and for foreign affairs, repaired to the chamber of peers, and laid before them the situation of the Emperor and the empire. He dwelt much upon the improvements which the Emperor had introduced into every branch of the state, and the increase of the army in particular, concluding, that 850,000 Frenchmen would defend the independence, the liberty and the honour of the country, exclusive of the sedentary national guards. These representations were followed by two reports presented to the peers and to the chamber of deputies. Instead of impressing upon the representatives, the necessity of frankly joining the Emperor, and as one of them observed, of not entering into a contest with government at a moment when the blood of Frenchmen was about to be shed; they proposed discussions upon the impropriety of the connexion of ministers of state with the Chamber, and upon the urgency of appointing a committee

to alter the Supplementary, or Additional Act. An immoderate desire of speechifying, and of making laws, seemed to have seized the greater number of the deputies; as if a state could be saved by empty words, whilst the enemy was at the gates!

On the 17th, a new report made to the Emperor by the minister of police, on the moral state of France, was communicated to the two chambers—"Sire," said this minister, "it is my duty to tell you the whole truth. Our enemies are encouraged by instruments, without, and supporters within." Bordeaux, Marseilles, Toulose, and the left bank of Loire, Caen and other places were mentioned as highly disaffected. Fouché, who made this traiterous report, was not believed by many of the deputies. They imagined it had been drawn up by order of the Emperor, with the intention of alarming them, and rendering them more docile to his will; but Fouche had distorted facts with the design of giving encouragement to the Bourbons, to whom he was sold, and of intimidating, cooling, and dividing the partisans of Napoleon. The Chamber, however continued their discussions on its favorite subject, the Additional Act.

The whole army was superb and full of ardour; but the Emperor, a slave to his ancient habitudes, committed the fault of replacing it under the command of its former chiefs. They were not now the same men, who full of youth and ambition, were generously prodigal of their lives to acquire rank and fame, but enriched by the spoils of the enemy, or by Napoleon's bounty, they seemed to trust more to the fortune of their leader than to their own exertions.

At this momentous period when the French army with Napoleon, at their head, were once more upon the point of crossing the rubicon; the practice of issuing a proclamation was not omitted.—This was dated Aresnes, and was marked with the rapidity, the abruptness, and the greatness of mind peculiar to the Emperor: each division and regi-

ment being duly drawn up it was read at the head of each as follows:

"SOLDIERS,

"Behold the anniversary of Marengo and Friedland, which has twice decided the destinies of Europe. It was then as at Austerlitz, as at Wagram. We gave our easy faith to the protestations and oaths of those princes to whom we left our thrones. These same princes having leagued among themselves, are now in arms against the independence of France. Let us march to give them the meeting, both they and we are still the same. Soldiers! at Jena against these same Prussians we were one against three; and at Montmirail, one against six. As many of you as have been prisoners amongst the English, relate to your comrades what you suffered in their prisons and hulks.

"The Saxons, the Belgians, and Hanoverians, and soldiers of the Confederation of the Rhine, lament that unhappy force which compels them to obey those princes who are the enemies of justice and liberty. They know the insatiable cupidity of this coalition. They know that these princes have already devoured twelve millions of Poles, a million of Saxons, and six millions of Belgians, and thus all the German states of the second order are their next destined prey. Madmen! a moment of prosperity has blinded them. The oppression and humiliation of the French people are beyond their power; if they enter France, they will find it only their grave.

"Soldiers we have marches to make, battles to give, and dangers to incur; but with constancy, discipline, and resolution to conquer, the victory will be ours, and the glory and liberty of France will be re-conquered. For all Frenchmen who have a heart, the moment is come to conquer or die."

Treachery however was not confined to Paris. On the same night, the army, the movements of which the Emperor had taken care to conceal, commenced to march; there was no appearance that the enemy had foreseen this event, and every thing promised fair, when he was informed that general Bourmont, colonels Clouet, and Villoutreys, and two other officers, had just gone over to the enemy, Napoleon immediately made such alterations as he thought necessary, and then continued his march. On the 15th, he was at Jumiguan, on the Eure: at three, his army moved in three columns, suddenly debouching at Beaumont, Maubege, and Philippeville Having arrived at the

Duke of Brunswick Oels.

Sambre, the Prussians that disputed the passage, were driven to Charleroi, where the inhabitants saluted the French with continued shouts of "France for ever! Long live the Emperor!" During this time the second corps passed the Sambre at Marchiennes, where the Prussians were again beaten and dispersed, and evently retired to the heights of Fleuries, where they were broken and annihilated: but they sold the victory dear.

The affairs of Quartre Bras and Ligny soon followed. Marshal Blucher, conscious that the possession of Ligny would be highly advantageous to the French, commenced a battle, one of the most obstinate mentioned in history. For five hours, two hundred pieces of cannon deluged the field with slaughter. All this time, the French and Prussians, alternately the vanquished and the victors, disputed the ensanguined post hand to hand, which was taken and re-taken seven times in succession. The smoking ruins of Ligny and St. Amand were heaped with the dead and dying: the ravine before Ligny resembled a river of blood, on which carcases were floating: at Quartre Bras there was a similar spectacle; a hollow way skirted the wood, was filled up with the bleeding corses of the brave Scotch, and the French curassiers. The Imperial Guard fought with shouts of the "Emperor for ever! No quarter!" general Gerard's corps having expended all their ammunition, called out for more cartridges and more Prussians. The loss of the Prussians was estimated at 25,000 men, occasioned by the tremendous fire of the French artillery. Blucher, unhorsed by the curassiers, escaped them only by a miracle. The prince of Brunswick himself, and a number of officers of distinction were killed. The French lost near 5000 men and several generals. Prince Jerome, previously wounded at the passage of the Sambre, had his hand slightly grazed by a musket shot. He remained constantly at the head of his division.

At Ligny, the French general Gerard was mor-

tally wounded, and they lost 6,500 men. The victory of Ligny did not quite satisfy the Emperor; he said, "If marshal Ney had attacked the English with all his forces, he would have crushed them, and he might have come to have given the Prussians the finishing blow; and besides if he had not prevented the movement of count Erlon, the intervention of the first corps would have shortened the resistance of Blucher." However the English army was separated from the Prussians; and Napoleon, without losing time, was for attacking the English at day-break, but so many objections were made to his plan, that he consented to let the army repose. On the 17th. he divided his troops into columns: one of 65,000 men, led by Napoleon, followed the English. The light artillery, the lancers of general Colbert and colonel Sourd, kept close after them to the entrance of the forest of Soignes, where the duke of Wellington took up his position. The other 36,000 strong, under marshal Grouchy was detached to observe and pursue the Prussians. The night of the 17th was dreadful and seemed to presage the calamities of the day. The violent and incessant rain did not allow of a moment's rest to the army. The bad state of the roads hindered the arrival of provisions, and most of the soldiers were without food. The Emperor thought that lord Wellington separated from the Prussians, would not venture to maintain his position in the forest; and next morning, was surprised that the English had not quitted its positions, but on the contrary were disposed to accept battle. He made several generals reconnoitre the English, and from one of them he learned that they were defended "by an army of cannons, and mountains of infantry." Napoleon immediately ordered general Grouchy to push the Prussians briskly, and to approach the main army as speedily as possible, as he was probably about to engage in a grand battle. In the mean while, Blucher had escaped Grouchy, and opened a communication with Wellington

through Ohaim. The French officer who carried the Emperor's letter to Grouchy, thought proper to take an immense circuit. In the interval, the officers consulted by the Emperor, were of different sentiments. Some of the most brave, but more prudent than others, remonstrated that the ground was deluged by rain; that the troops, the cavalry in particular, could not manoeuvre, whilst the English army would have the immense advantage of awaiting the French on firm ground in its entrenchments, and that it would be better to endeavour to turn these. The Emperor having heard all, determined to attack the English in front.

During the preceding night, the Emperor had given all the necessary orders for the battle of the next day, although many things indicated that it would not take place. During the four days that hostilities had commenced, by a brilliant victory he had surprised and separated the two armies, the English and the Prussians. This was much for his glory, but not enough for the situation in which he was placed. Had it not been for three hours delay which his left, under marshal Ney, had been placed in, on the afternoon of the 17th, he would have attacked Wellington and the allies on that day which might have crowned the success of the campaign. As it was, the Emperor went out on foot, about one in the morning, accompanied by his grand marshal. He visited the whole line of main guards. The forest of Soignes, occupied by the British, appeared like one continued blaze; the horizon between that spot and the farms of La Belle Alliance and La Haye, was brightened with the fires of numerous bivouacs: the most profound silence reigned. The Anglo-Belgian army was wrapped in sleep, owing to the fatigues it had undergone on the four preceding days. Arrived near the wood of Hougoumont, he heard the noise of a column in march, which soon ceased, and the rain fell in torrents. Several officers sent to reconnoitre, and others, who returned to head-quarters at half-past three, con-

firmed the opinion, that the British had made no movement. At four o'clock, the scouts brought in a peasant, who had served as a guide to a brigade of English cavalry, which went to take a position on the left, at the village of Ohain. Two Belgian deserters, who had just quitted their regiments, reported that their army were preparing for battle, and that no retrograde movement had taken place: that Belgium prayed for the success of the Emperor, while the English and the Prussians were equally unpopular there.

The French troops bivouacked in the midst of a deep mud, and the officers thought it impossible to give battle on the following day; the grounds were so moistened that the artillery and the cavalry could not possibly manœuvre in them, and it would require twelve hours of fine weather to dry them. The dawn having begun to appear, the Emperor returned to his head-quarters full of satisfaction at the great fault committed by Wellington; though very apprehensive that the bad weather would prevent him from profiting by it. But the atmosphere became clearer; at five o'clock some feeble rays of the sun appeared. The forces shewn by the enemy were estimated differently; but the French officers most accustomed to these calculations, considered them, including the corps of flankers, to amount to 90,000 men, which agreed with the general accounts that were given. The French army was now only 69,000 strong, but still victory appeared to be certain. These 69,000 men were good troops; whereas in the enemy's army, the English, only amounting to 40,000 at most, could be reckoned as such.

At eight o'clock the Emperor's breakfast was served up: to this many general officers sat down. "The enemy's army, (said Napoleon) is superior to ours by nearly a fourth; there are notwithstanding ninety chances in our favour to ten against us. "Without doubt," said marshal Ney, who had just entered, "if the duke of Wellington were simple

enough to wait for your Majesty; but I come to announce that his columns are already in full retreat, and are disappearing in the forest of Soignes." "You have seen badly," replied the Emperor; "it is too late, he would expose himself to certain ruin by such a step; he has thrown the dice, they are now for us. At this moment some officers of artillery, who had rode over the plain, stated that the artillery could manœuvre, though with difficulty, which would be greatly diminished in another hour. The Emperor mounted immediately and went to the skirmishers opposite La Haye Sainte, again reconnoitred the enemy's line, and directed Haxo, the general of engineers, a confidential officer, to approach it nearer, in order to ascertain whether any redoubts were thrown up, or entrenchments made, and who soon returned, saying, he had not observed the least trace of any fortifications. After some moments reflection, the Emperor dictated the order of battle, which was taken down by two generals seated on the ground. The aid-de-camps took it to the different corps already under arms; the army then moved forward, marching in eleven columns, which, formed with so much precision, that no confusion whatever arose. The Emperor now went through the ranks; it would be difficult to express the enthusiasm which animated all the soldiers; the infantry elevated their caps on their bayonets; the cuirassiers, dragoons, and light cavalry, their helmets on their sabres. Meanwhile the Emperor gave his last orders, and proceeded at the head of his guard to the summit of the Six W's, on the heights of Rossomme. From this spot he had a complete view of the two armies, the prospect extending far to the right and left of the field of battle. Marshal Ney obtained the honour of commanding the grand attack of the centre. He sent one of his aid-de-camps to say that every thing was ready. Before giving it, the Emperor wished to cast another

glance over the whole, and perceived, in the direction of St. Lambert, a dark mass which appeared to him like troops. Upon this he asked the adjutant-general what he saw near St. Lambert? "I think I see 5 or 6,000 men," replied the general, "it is probably Grouchy." All the glasses of the staff were now fixed in that direction. The weather was rather foggy. Some maintained there were no troops but merely trees which were perceived, while others said, columns were in position there; this state of uncertainty was ended by the order for 3,000 light cavalry to effect a junction if they belonged to marshal Grouchy, or to keep them in check if they were enemies. In a quarter of an hour, a Prussian hussar was brought in, who was the bearer of a letter, was very intelligent, and gave all the information required. It then appeared that the column at St. Lambert was the advanced guard of the Prussian general Bulow, who was coming up with 30,000 men. The duke of Dalmatia immediately dispatched the intercepted letter, and the report of the hussar, to marshal Grouchy, to whom he reiterated the order to march, without delay, on St. Lambert, and to take general Bulow's corps in the rear. It was now eleven o'clock, the officer had only to proceed four or five leagues to reach marshal Grouchy, and he promised to be with that officer in an hour. A short time after, general Daumant sent to say, that some well mounted scouts that preceded him, had met patroles of the enemy in the vicinity of St. Lambert, and that he had sent chosen patroles, in various directions, to communicate with marshal Grouchy for the purpose of conveying orders and reports. The Emperor immediately ordered count Lobau to cross the causeway of Charleroi, and to support the light cavalry towards St. Lambert; choosing a good intermediate position, where he might with 10,000 men check 30,000 Prussians, if necessary, or to attack them briskly the moment he should hear the first cannon shots of the troops, which it was sup-

posed marshal Grouchy had detached in their rear. These events caused some change in the Emperor's first plan of the battle; he was already deprived of 10,000 men, whom he was thus obliged to send against general Bulow. He no longer had any more than 59,000 men against 90,000 of the enemy, who had just been augmented by 30,000 men, and already ranged in the field of battle.—"We had ninety chances for us in the morning," said he to the duke of Dalmatia, "the arrival of Bulow makes us lose thirty; but we have still sixty against forty; and if Grouchy repairs the horrible fault he has committed, by amusing himself at Gembloux, the victory will be thereby the more decisive; for the corps of Bulow must, in that case be entirely lost."

It was now noon; the skirmishers were engaged on all the line; but there was no severe action, except on the left in the wood, and at the castle of Hongoumont. The Emperor sent an order to marshal Ney to commence the fire of his batteries, to take possession of the farm of La Haye Sainte, occupy the village, and thus intercept all communication between the enemy and Bulow's corps, eighty guns soon made an immense havoc over all the left of the English line; one of its divisions was entirely destroyed by round and case shot. In the meanwhile the Emperor perceived that the English general was preparing a grand charge of cavalry on the left, and he galloped to the spot; the charge had been made, and repulsed a column of infantry which advanced on the low ground, taken two eagles, and disorganized seven pieces of cannon. A brigade of Milhaud's cuirassiers being ordered to charge the enemy's horse, they were broken in their turn, and the greatest part of them remained on the field; the guns were re-taken, and the infantry protected. Many charges of infantry and cavalry followed, and after three hours fighting, the farm of La Haye Sainte, in spite of the resistance of the Scotch regiments, was occupied by the French infantry. The sixth and fifth English

divisions were destroyed. General Picton remained dead on the field. During the combat the Emperor rode through the line of cuirassiers and that of the guard, in the middle of the discharges of the enemy's musketry and artillery; the brave general Devaux was killed by his side. General Lallemand succeeded him, and was wounded soon after.

Disorder at this time began to prevail in the English army; the baggage, waggon-train, and wounded, seeing the French approach the causeway of Brussels, and the principal opening of the forest, hastened to effect their retreat: all the English, Belgians, and Germans, who had been sabred by the cavalry, precipitated themselves on Brussels. It was now four o'clock, and victory might then have decided for Napoleon, had not general Bulow's corps effected its powerful diversion. At two o'clock the Emperor learned from Gembloux that marshal Grouchy, instead of setting out from that place at dawn of day, had not quitted his camp there at ten o'clock.

As the Prussians now approached, the fire from their field-pieces fell on the causeway in front and rear of La Belle Alliance, where the Emperor was standing with his guard, and the Prussian case shot ploughed up the ground. The Emperor then ordered general Duhesme to advance with the young guard; in a quarter of an hour, their formidable artillery commenced its fire, and soon acquired the superiority; undulations were observed in the Prussian lines, but they still continued out-flanking the French right, till opposed by lieutenant-general Moraud with four battalions of the old guard, and 16 pieces of cannon. General Bulow was repulsed, and by degrees his whole line fell back; it was now seven o'clock.

Two hours had elapsed since the count D'Erlon had taken possession of La Haye Sainte, out-flanked all the English left and the right of general Bulow. The English cavalry being repulsed by the cuirassiers and the chasseurs of the guard, aban-

doned all the field of battle between La Haye Sainte and Mount St. John, which the whole of their left had occupied, and were deprived of all means of retreat on the right. On seeing these brilliant charges, cries of victory were heard all over the field; upon which the Emperor said, "It is too soon by an hour; but we must support what is done" He then sent an order to the cuirassiers of Kellerman, who were on the left, to move briskly to support the cavalry on the low grounds. At this moment, general Bulow threatened the flank and rear of the army; it was important not to make any retrograde motion, and to maintain this position, though prematurely taken. At this critical moment, the rapid advance of 3,000 cuirassiers defiling under the cannonade of the Prussians, and shouting, "Live the Emperor!" made a happy diversion. The cavalry advanced as if in pursuit of the English army; but the army of general Bulow still made some progress on the French flank and rear. The soldiers and officers sought to divine, in the look of the chief, whether they were conquerors or in danger, while he breathed nothing but confidence. It was the fiftieth regular battle in which Napoleon had commanded within twenty years. In the mean time the division of the heavy cavalry of the guard, in the second line, under general Guyot, behind Kellerman's cuirassiers, followed at a brisk trot to the low ground. On perceiving this movement, the Emperor sent count Bertrand to recal it; *for it was his reserve;* but it was too late, and a retrograde movement was still dangerous. Thus was the Emperor deprived of his reserve of cavalry ever since five o'clock. This reserve, if properly applied, might have given him the victory; whilst these 12,000 select horse performed prodigies of valour; overthrowing all the more numerous cavalry of the enemy, broke through many squares of infantry, disorganized their ranks, took possession of 60 pieces of cannon,

and seized six stands of colours in the midst of the squares. These trophies were presented to the Emperor at Belle Alliance, by three chasseurs of the guard, and three cuirassiers. The English believed the battle lost a second time. Ponsonby's brigade being charged by the red lancers of the guard, commanded by general Colbert, was broken through, and its general overthrown by several lance wounds. The prince of Orange was severely wounded, and on the point of being taken; but the brave cavalry not being supported, as a strong mass of infantry was still necessary to repel general Bulow's attack, they were obliged to confine themselves to the preservation of the field of battle which had been conquered.

About seven o'clock, when Bulow's division was repulsed, the cavalry still keeping its ground, the victory was gained; 69,000 French had beaten 120,000 men. Joy was in every countenance and hope in every heart.

But this state of exultation was not to continue: the Prussian marshal Blucher was rapidly approaching the scene of action, with 31,000 fresh troops. Wellington, who was in full retreat, now halted. This general had been in the utmost despair; often wishing "that either night or the Prussians would come;" but now, instead of defeat, he saw his safety. The brigade of English cavalry, which was at Ohaim, also joined him, while the French saw the victory snatched out of their hands by the arrival of marshal Blucher with 36,600 fresh troops, which increased the allied army in line to nearly 150,000 men; that is to say, in proportion of two and a half against one. Perceiving these numerous columns arrive, some regiments made a retrograde movement: the Emperor perceived this. It was of the highest importance to restore firmness to the cavalry; and seeing that it would take him a quarter of an hour more to rally his guard, he put himself at the head of four battalions, and advanced on the left in front of La Haye Sainte,

sending aid-de-camps along the whole line to cheer the troops, by pretending that marshal Grouchy had arrived, and that with a little firmness victory would be restored. But in a word, all the efforts of the French were useless; the plain they had been in possession of was soon inundated by the enemy; La Haye was re-taken; 2,000 English cavalry penetrated between general Reille and the guard.—The disorder now became dreadful throughout the field of battle. The Emperor put himself under the protection of one of the squares of his troops. The night greatly augmented the disorder. If the troops could have seen the Emperor, they might have rallied, whereas nothing could be done with certainty. The guard retreated, the fire of the enemy was only 400 toises in the rear of the army, and the causeways cut off. Four pieces of cannon which were planted there, kept up a brisk fire upon the plain; the last discharge wounded lord Uxbridge. The Emperor could not retreat, except through the fields; there was no time to be lost: cavalry, artillery, infantry, were all confusedly mingled together. The staff only gained the little town of Gemappe, hoping to be able to rally a rear-guard there; but the disorder was horrible, all its efforts were made in vain. It was now eleven o'clock.

Never did the French army fight better than on this occasion: it performed prodigies of valour, and the superiority of the troops, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, over the English and their allies, was such, that had not Blucher arrived with his second corps of Prussians, the victory over the Anglo-Belgian army would have been complete, though aided by Bulow's 30,000 Prussians; that is to say, it would have been gained by 69,000 men opposed to nearly double their number; for as before stated, the British and Belgians in the field before Blucher's arrival, amounted to 120,000 men.

The allies, according to their own accounts, lost

60,000 men, viz. 11,300 English, 3,500 Hanoverians; 8,000 Belgians, troops of Nassau, Brunswick, &c. Those of the Anglo-Belgian army amounted to 22,800; to which add 38,000 Prussians: this makes a general total of 60,800 men. The losses of the French, including those during the route, and till their arrival at Paris, was nearly 40,000.

The Imperial guard supported its former reputation, but at length found itself under the most unfavorable circumstances, being out-flanked on the right, whilst the left was inundated with enemies, and those who fled from the field, when the guard began to enter into line. Lieutenant-general Duhesme, a brave old soldier, covered with wounds, was made prisoner, whilst attempting to rally a rear-guard. The count de Lobau was taken under similar circumstances. General Cambrone remained on the field severely wounded. Out of twenty-four English generals, twelve were killed or badly wounded, and the Dutch lost three.

Independent of the faults on the part of Grouchy, in not coming up to the field of battle, the French accounts allow "that many other causes had great influence upon the fortunes of that day. In other times, the French, though so inferior in number, would have gained the victory, which indeed the obstinate and unyielding bravery of the English troops *alone*, prevented them from obtaining."

At the most critical juncture of this battle, when the irresistible firmness of the British had been put to the severest test, and the army, who with the General himself, had begun to doubt the fortune of the day, "they," as one of our own writers observed, "were suddenly and unexpectedly cheered by hearing the sound of the Prussian cannon." It was also remarked, that the French had retired from the last attack in confusion, and therefore the duke of Wellington immediately advanced with the whole line of his infantry and cavalry, and attack-

ing the enemy in his turn, succeeded in forcing him from the heights before in his possession, while the Prussians, under marshal Blucher, were equally active and successful on the enemy's flank. About nine o'clock the French gave up the field, leaving behind them, as far as lord Wellington could judge, 150 pieces of cannon, with ammunition, &c.

The appearance of the field of battle next day was dreadful; it was so much covered with blood, that it appeared to have been completely flooded. Dead horses seemed innumerable; and the peasantry employed in burying the dead generally stripped the bodies first.

The road to Waterloo from Brussels lies through the little village of Ixelles; ascending thence we enter the deep shades of the forest of Soignes, enlightened at intervals with white cottages and little villages. At almost every step were to be seen the remains of tattered clothes, shattered wheels and carriages, shoes, belts, and scabbards, infantry caps battered to pieces; Highland bonnets, &c. covered with dust, strewn along the road-side, or thrown among the trees. These mournful relics had mostly belonged to the wounded, who had crawled from the fatal field; but unable to proceed further, had laid down and died; those also who died in the waggons on the way to Brussels were hastily interred here. The smell the whole way was extremely offensive; besides deep stagnant pools of red putrid water, mingled with the remains of the dead, marked several spots, especially those nearest Waterloo.

Upon the field itself, the graves, a few days after, appeared innumerable. In some parts of it fire had been used to consume the bodies, and left behind it heaps of black dust. Here, whilst strangers mused with the most serious concern, the native peasantry, women, old men and boys, were clamoring for the sale of the articles they were possessed of. From the complete cuirass, the valuable

sabre, carbine, and case of pistols, down to the buttons torn from the jackets of the slain, and letters taken from the pockets of the dead, were readily purchased.

But if any thing could possibly add to the splendor of this victory it was the distinguished modesty of the victor, who acknowledged, in writing to a near relative, "that he had never been so near being beaten in his life; and that his antagonist (Napoleon) had fought the battle with infinite skill and courage."

Among all the instances of individual suffering, and singular escapes from death, during this tremendous contest, few could equal or exceed those of the honorable colonel Ponsonby, as thus related by himself after his return to England.—

"The weather cleared up at noon, and the sun shone out a little, just as the battle began. The armies were within 800 yards of each other; the videttes, before they were withdrawn, being so near as to be able to converse. At one moment I imagined that I saw Buonaparté, a considerable staff moving rapidly along the front of our line.

"I was stationed with my regiment (about 300 strong) at the extreme of the left wing, and directed to act discretionally; each of the armies were drawn up on a gentle declivity, a small valley lying between them.

"At one o'clock, observing, as I thought, unsteadiness in a column of French infantry (50 by 20, [1000] or thereabouts) which were advancing with an irregular fire, I resolved to charge them. As we were descending in a gallop, we received from our own troops on the right a fire much more destructive than their's, they having began long before it could take effect, and slackening as we drew nearer: when we were within 50 paces of them, they turned, and much execution was done among them, as we were followed by some Belgians, who had remarked our success.

"But we had no sooner passed through them, than we were attacked in our turn, before we could form, by about 300 Polish lancers, who had come down to their relief: the French artillery pouring in among us a heavy fire of grape-shot, which however, for one of our men, killed three of their own.—In the *melee*, I was disabled almost instantly in both of my arms, and followed by a few of my men, who were presently cut down, (no quarter being asked or given,) I was carried on by my horse, till receiving a blow on my head from a sabre, I was thrown senseless on my face to the ground. Recovering, I raised myself a little to look round, (being, I believe, at that

time in a condition to get up and run away,) when a lancer passing by exclaimed, "*Tu n'es pas mort, coquin,*" and struck his lance through my back; my head dropped, the blood gushed into my mouth, a difficulty of breathing came on, and I thought all was over.

"Not long afterwards, (it was then impossible to measure time, but I must have fallen in less than ten minutes after the charge,) a tirailleur came up to plunder me, threatening to take my life. I told him that he might search me, directing him to a small side pocket, in which he found three dollars, being all I had; he unloosed my stock, and tore open my waistcoat, then leaving me in a very uneasy posture, and was no sooner gone, than another came up for the same purpose, but assuring him I had been plundered already, he left me; when an officer bringing up some troops (to which probably the tirailleurs belonged), and halting where I lay, stooped down and addressed me, saying, he feared I was badly wounded: I replied that I was, and expressed a wish to be removed into the rear: he said it was against the order to remove even their own men; but that if they gained the day, as they probably would (for he understood that the duke of Wellington was killed, and that six of our battalions had surrendered,) every possible attention in his power should be shown me. I complained of thirst, and he held his brandy bottle to my lips, directing one of his men to lay me straight on my side, and place a knapsack under my head: he then passed on into the action, and I shall never know to whose generosity I was indebted, as I conceive, for my life; of what rank he was I cannot say! he wore a blue great coat. By-and-bye another tirailleur came and knelt and fired over me, loading and firing many times, and conversing with great gaiety all the while; at last he ran off saying, "*Vous serez bien aise d'entendre que nous allons retirer; bon jour, mon ami.*" "You will be very glad to hear that we are retreating. Good day, my friend."

"While the battle continued in that part, several of the wounded men and dead bodies near me were hit with the balls, which came very thick in that place. Towards evening, when the Prussians came, the continued roar of the cannon along theirs and the British line, growing louder and louder as they drew near, was the finest thing I ever heard. It was dusk, when two squadrons of Prussian cavalry, both of them two deep, passed over me in full trot, lifting me from the ground, and tumbling me about cruelly; the clatter of their approach, and the apprehensions it excited may be easily conceived. Had a gun come that way, it would have done for me. The battle was then nearly over, or removed to a distance. The cries and groans of the wounded all around me became every instant more and more audible, succeeding to the shouts, imprecations, and outcries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" the discharges of musketry and cannon; now and then intervals of perfect silence, which were worse than the noise. I thought the night

would never end. Much about this time, I found a soldier of the Royals lying across my legs who had probably crawled thither in his agony; his weight, convulsive motions, his noises, and the air issuing through a wound in his side, distressed me greatly, the latter circumstance most of all, as the case was my own. It was not a dark night, and the Prussians were wandering about to plunder, and the scene in Ferdinand count Fathom came into my mind, though no women I believe were there; several of them came and looked at me and passed on; at length one stopped to examine me. I told him, as well as I could, (for I could say but little in German) that I was a British officer, and had been plundered already; he did not desist, however, and pulled me about roughly before he left me. About an hour before midnight I saw a soldier in a British uniform coming towards me, he was, I suspect, on the same errand. He came and looked in my face, I spoke instantly, telling him who I was, and assuring him of a reward if he would remain by me. He said he belonged to the 40th regiment but had missed it. He released me from the dying man; being unarmed, he took up a sword from the ground, and stood over me, pacing backwards and forwards. At eight o'clock in the morning some English were seen at a distance; he ran to them, and a messenger was sent off to Hervey. A cart came for me. I was placed in it and carried to a farm-house, about a mile and a half distance, and laid in the bed from which poor Gordon, as I understood afterwards, had been just carried out; the jolting of the cart and the difficulty of breathing were very painful. I had received seven wounds, a surgeon slept in my room, and I was saved by continual bleeding, 120 ounces in two days, besides the great loss of blood on the field.

"The lances, from their great length and weight, would have struck down my sword long before I lost it, if it had not been bound to my hand. What became of my horse I know not, it was the best I ever had.

"The man from the Royals was still breathing when I was removed in the morning, and was soon after taken to the hospital."

Of the devotedness of the French soldiery to Buonaparté individually, many instances might be brought forward. One of those, who just after the battle of Waterloo had suffered the amputation of his left arm in the hospital, requested that the limb should be given him, on which, seizing it with his remaining hand, he threw it up into the air, exclaiming to his comrades, *Vive l'Empereur!*"

Another, upon whom a surgical experiment was making for the purpose of extracting a musket-

ball that had been lodged in his side, advised the surgeon to cut a little nearer to the heart, "for there he would find the Emperor."

A French author relates, that at the close of the battle of Waterloo, when the charge made by Napoleon had failed, and the English charged in their turn, some of their cavalry, with some *tirailleurs*, approached within 150 toises where the Emperor was standing, with only Soult, Drouet, Bertrand, and himself. Close to them was a small French battalion drawn up in a square. Some shots from two or three field-pieces, discharged to drive away away the English cavalry, which continued to approach, carried away the marquis of Anglesea's leg. Napoleon then placed himself with the column, and wanted to charge, exclaiming, '*Il faut mourir ici, il faut mourir sur le champ de battaille.*' The English were still firing at them, and they expected every moment to be charged. Soult laying hold of Napoleon's bridle, exclaimed, 'That he would not be killed, but taken prisoner;' and finally, with the others, compelled him to leave the field. Napoleon was so fatigued that on the road to Jemappe he would have frequently fallen from his horse had he not been supported by general Gorgaud and two other persons, who were his only attendants for some time."

Of the melancholy catastrophe of this battle, we have also the following account:—

"One last battalion of reserve, the illustrious and unfortunate remains of the granite column of Marengo, had remained unshaken. The Emperor retired into the ranks of these brave men, still commanded by Cambronne. He formed them into a square and advanced at their head to meet the enemy. All his generals, Ney, Soult, Bertrand, Drouot, Corbineau, Flahaut, Labedoyere, Gourgaud, &c. drew their swords and became soldiers. The old grenadiers, incapable of fear for their own lives, conjured the Emperor to withdraw.—

"Retire," said one of them, "Death shuns you." The officers around him seized his bridle, and dragged him away. Cambronne and his brave men crouded round their expiring eagles, and bade Napoleon an eternal adieu. The English, moved by their heroic resistance, conjured them to surrender; "No," said Cambronne, "the guard can die but not yield." At the same time they all rushed on the enemy with shouts of "Long live the Emperor!" The English and Prussians, from whom they still detained the palm of victory, united against this band of heroes, and cut them down. Some, covered with wounds, fell to the ground weltering in their blood; others, more fortunate, were killed outright; in fine, those whose hopes were not answered by death, shot one another, that they might not survive their companions in arms, or die by the hands of their enemies.

"The cessation of the firing, and the precipitate retreat of the army, too powerfully confirmed the fatal issue of this contest. The capture and plundering the French baggage, in some degree, retarded the pursuit; but the pursuers came up with the French at Quatre Bras. Here were taken the Emperor's clothes, the superb diamond necklace that the princess Borghese had given him, and his landau, that in 1813 had escaped the disasters of Moscow. Those unfortunate fugitives which the Prussians overtook, they treated with the utmost barbarity. Those who had thrown away their arms were massacred without remorse. Four Prussians killed a French general after they had taken his arms from him. Another general who had surrendered to a Prussian officer, was, notwithstanding, run though the body. Several French officers blew out their own brains.

Still pursued and harrassed, the French arrived at Charleroi, and here they were obliged to abandon the military chest. The gold in it was distributed among the Emperor's domestics, all of whom faithfully delivered it to him.

"At Philipville M. M. Bassano and de Fleury found the Emperor; when he saw the latter gentleman, he offered him his hand, "I, (said he) bathed it with my tears." The Emperor could not suppress his emotion, a large tear escaping from his eyes betrayed the efforts of his soul. Still he talked of raising 300,000 men; adding that if Grouchy were not taken, he might have 50,000 men in three days, which would be sufficient to keep the enemy employed, and give time to Paris and France to do their duty. Almost at the next moment only two or three hundred fugitives were assembled, with some difficulty, to form his escort. He set off with general Bertrand in a calash.

At Rocroi, where Napoleon stopped to take refreshment, his attendants appeared in a pitiable state; their clothes covered with blood or dust; haggard looks and eyes swelled with tears. Labedoyere had persuaded himself that all parties would now unite, and that the Chambers would display a grand and salutary energy: others, more justly supposed they would accuse Napoleon of having ruined France. "Heaven preserve us from such a misfortune," exclaimed Labedoyere, "if the Chambers separate themselves from the Emperor, all is over with us. The next day we shall see the Bourbons. *As for me, my fate is not doubtful, I shall be the first man shot.*" "The Emperor (said M. de Flahaut) is a lost man if he set his foot in Paris." It is added, that M. de Flahaut saw truly; for it appeared certain, that marshal Grouchy *had held parleys with the allies*, and that an arrangement, on the plan of the duke of Ragusa, was about to be signed, when general Excelmans arrested the Prussian colonel who was sent to conclude the treaty already agreed upon. When Napoleon and his small suite arrived at Laon, a detachment of the national guard came to meet him, and to offer their services; the Emperor thanked the commanding officer.

The French admitted that their loss in the battle of Waterloo amounted to more than 37,000 men, and that it would have been greater, but for the generous care taken of them by the inhabitants of Belgium. After the victory of Fleurus and of Ligny, they hastened to the field of battle to console the wounded and give them assistance. Nothing could be more affecting than the sight of a number of women and girls endeavouring with cordials to revive the soldiers that had fainted; whilst their husbands and brothers supported others in their arms, staunched the blood and closed their wounds. —Conveyances and field hospitals had not been allowed, in consequence of the rapid movements previous to the late battles. The good and feeling inhabitants of Belgium supplied this deficiency with ardour. They carried the French from the field of battle, and braving the rage of the Prussians, quitted their houses to shew them the paths that would favour their escape. The number of French that remained prisoners, also shared their consolation and assistance. The prince of Orange likewise became the protector of a number of these unfortunate men, who had invoked his support. It is not less true, that when persecution, exile, and death, compelled so many Frenchmen to flee from their native country, the Belgians, always benevolent, opened their doors to these unhappy fugitives, and preserved some of them from the fury of enemies more implacable than foreigners.

Respecting marshal Grouchy it appears, that conformably to the first orders given him, he confined himself to observing the Prussians. On the 18th, at nine in the morning, he quitted his cantonments to march to Wavres. When he reached Walhain he heard the cannonading at Mont St. Jean. Its continually increasing briskness left no doubt that it was an extremely serious affair. General Excelmans proposed to march towards the guns by the right bank of the Dyle. "Do you not feel" said he to the Marshal, "that the firing

makes the ground tremble under our feet? let us march straight towards where they are fighting." But the Marshal continued his slow movements, and at two o'clock arrived before Wavres. At seven o'clock he received, according to his own account, the order from the major-general to march to St. Lambert and attack Bulow, which step ought to have been suggested to him before that time, by the tremendous cannonading at Waterloo, and by the order given in the first dispatch received in the morning, to draw near to the grand army. On the 22d, the whole of Grouchy's corps was assembled at Rocroi. On the 24th, it formed a junction with the wreck of the army of Waterloo, and on the 25th, it marched from Rheims to the capital.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Arrival of Napoleon at Paris.—His Embarrassment and Despondency.—His Enemies among the Deputies.—The Chamber declares itself in a state of Permanence.—Hostility between the Emperor and the Chambers.—Vaccillating Conduct of Napoleon. Agrees to abdicate.—Declaration to the French People.—Proclaiming Napoleon II. the Emperor of the French.—Marshal Grouchy's Army enters France.—Napoleon removes to Malmaison.—Arrives at Rochfort.—Goes on board the Bellerophon. —Arrives at Plymouth.—His Protest against the Violation of his Liberty.—Writes to the Prince Regent.—Goes on board the Northumberland.—His Conduct and Conversation.—Reasons for giving himself up to England.—Affection of the Empress Maria Louisa.

ON Napoleon's arrival at Paris he went to the Elsyeum, where he was received by the duke of Vicenza, his censor in prosperity, his friend in adversity. He appeared sinking under grief and fatigue: his breast was affected, his respiration difficult.—After a painful sigh, he said to the Duke, "The army performed prodigies; a panic terror seized it; all was lost. Ney conducted himself like a madman; he got my cavalry massacred for me.—I can say no more. I must have two hours rest to enable me to set about business: I am choking here," and he laid his hand upon his heart. After having ordered a bath, and a few moments' silence, he said, "My intention is to assemble the two Chambers in an Imperial sitting, and demand from them the means of saving the country." The duke of Vicenza informed him, that the deputies appeared more hostile than ever; that he was sorry to see him in Paris; that it would have been better not to have separated from the army." "I have no

longer an army," said the Emperor; I have nothing but fugitives.—I shall find men, but I have no muskets left. I think you have formed a wrong judgment of the deputies; the majority are good; only La Fayette, Lanjunais, Flauguerge, and a few others are against me. The arrival of the princes Joseph and Lucien, interrupted the Emperor.—They confirmed the duke of Vicenza's opinion of the disaffection of the Chamber, and advised Napoleon to postpone the assembling of an Imperial session.

Whilst he was in the bath, the ministers and great officers of state hastened to the Elyseum, anxiously questioning the aides-de camp and officers who had returned with Napoleon. They told the whole truth; said it was all over with the Emperor, and that France could only be saved by his abdication.

Soon after assembling his council, he said to count Regnault, "Speak plainly; it is my abdication they want, is it not?"—"I believe so, Sire; painful as it is to me, it is my duty to open your Majesty's eyes to your true situation. It is even possible that if you should not resolve to offer it of your own accord, the Chamber would venture to demand your abdication."

Prince Lucien proposed dispensing with the Chamber, and that Napoleon should declare himself Dictator, in which he was seconded by Carnot. The Emperor interposing, said, "he did not fear the deputies, do what they might, he would still be the idol of the people and the army. A single word from him would cause all the deputies to be knocked on the head,—but while I fear nothing on my own account, I fear every thing for France."

But whilst Napoleon was flattering himself that the opinions of his ministers, previously divided, were upon the point of coming to a favorable issue, the council was interrupted by a message from the Chamber of Representatives, declaring, "that the independence of the nation is threatened; that the

Chamber is in a state of permanence, and that any attempt to dissolve it is a crime of high treason; that the army of the line and national guard, who have fought and still fight, have deserved well of their country." The ministers of war and of foreign affairs, and of the interior, were also desired to repair immediately to the assembly. It was evident that the whole of these articles were an usurpation of the sovereign authority. The Emperor now, for the first time, saw his error. "I was right" said he, "in thinking that I ought to dismiss those fellows before I departed. It is all over; they are upon the point of ruining France."—He broke up the sitting, saying, "I see Regnault did not deceive me: *If it must be so, I will abdicate.*"

This premature avowal, which Napoleon wished to recal, only increased the boldness of the disaffected deputies. In vain was M. Regnault and M. Carnot despatched to the Chambers to endeavour to calm the rising storm. Their communications, which were an apology for the loss of the battle of Waterloo, were listened to in the Peers with calmness; but nothing could assuage the impatience of the other chamber; they imperiously called upon ministers by a second message, to appear before them. This arrogance offended the Emperor so highly, that he forbade the ministers to stir, and the deputies finding they did not come considered their conduct as *a contempt for the nation.* In the mean time they were evidently alarmed at their own proceedings, and one of them moved that the national guard should be summoned to protect the Chambers, and that the command of it should be taken from the Emperor and general Durosnel, and given to general Lafayette.

The Emperor, weary of these interruptions, authorised his ministers to inform the president that they should soon be with him. At six, the ministers, with prince Lucien at their head, were introduced into the Chamber. The Prince announced

himself as commissioner extraordinary, bearing the Emperor's message, which contained a brief sketch of the disasters experienced at Mont St. Jean, and suggested the formation of a committee of five members from each of the Chambers, to concert with ministers the proper measures for securing the public safety, and treating for a peace with the combined powers.

The ministers were overwhelmed with questions from all the deputies, that had risen, as absurd as they were arrogant. At length, M. Henry Lacoste was able to make himself heard, "The veil then is torn," said he "our misfortunes are made known. You talk to us of peace; but what new basis will you give to your negociations? You know, as well as we, that Europe has declared war against Napoleon alone. Will you henceforth separate the nation from Napoleon? for my part, I declare I see but one man between us and peace. Let him speak, and the country will be saved." This was plain enough for the abdication, and called up prince Lucien and others, who accused the allies of endeavouring to separate the nation from Napoleon, in order to vanquish and subdue it. The friends of Napoleon seemed as if they would gain a majority in his favour, when M. de La Fayette obtaining a hearing: "You accuse us," said he, "of failing in our duties toward Napoleon.—Have you forgotten all that we have done for him: that we followed him in the sands of Africa, and in the deserts of Russia, and that the bones of our sons and brothers every where attest our fidelity?" A number of voices were now heard together in confusion, accusing or defending Napoleon; but at length it was agreed, that a committee of five members should be formed to concert measures with ministers. Prince Lucien afterwards obtained the same concession from the Chamber of Peers. It is sufficient to add, that after Napoleon had said, the Chambers "dare not" compel him to abdicate, he sent them word "that if he were an obstacle to the nation's being admitted to treat of its

independence, he should always be ready to make the sacrifice required of him."

Still when he heard that the Chamber of Deputies appeared disposed to pronounce his deposition if he did not abdicate immediately; he said, "if this is the case, I will not abdicate. The Chamber is composed of Jacobins, fanatics, and ambitious men." His agitation was extreme, he walked up and down muttering broken phrases.

At length, among other reasons, M. Regnault conjured him not to give the nation room to accuse him of having prevented it from making peace. "In 1814, said he, "you sacrificed yourself for the common safety; repeat this day this great, this generous sacrifice." Napoleon pettishly replied, "I was a soldier; I will become one again; but I want to be allowed to think of it calmly, with a view to the interests of France and my son: tell the Chambers to wait."

The Chamber was all this while extremely agitated, and seemed so unwilling even to leave Napoleon the merit of sacrificing himself; that after some more tumultuous discussion, they agreed to grant him an hour's grace; and the sitting was suspended.

Fresh importunities on this subject now immediately assailed the Emperor, from all his friends. Prince Lucien, who had never ceased to advise him to make head against the storm, was now joined by prince Joseph, and both agreed, that the time was passed, and that it was necessary to submit. The resistance of the Emperor was now overcome, and with an ironical smile he said, to the duke of Otranto, "Write to those gentlemen to make themselves easy: they shall soon be satisfied."

Prince Lucien then took up the pen, and wrote, from the dictation of his brother, the following

DECLARATION TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

"In commencing a war to maintain the independence of the nation, I reckoned on the joint efforts of all, the unanimity of all, and the concurrence of all the national authorities.—From these I had reason to hope for success, and I set at de-

fiance all the declarations of the foreign powers against me. Circumstances appear to be changed: I offer up myself as a sacrifice to the animosity of the enemies of France; may they prove themselves sincere in their declarations, and that they really aimed at me personally alone! My political life is at an end, and I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon II. Emperor of the French.

"The present ministers will form provisionally the council of government. The interest I feel in what concerns my son, induces me to desire the Chambers to form a new regency without delay, by a law.

"Unite, all of you, for the public safety, and to remain an independent nation.

Palace of the Elyseum, (Signed) "NAPOLEON."
June 22, 1815.

When this declaration was sent to the Chambers, the duke of Otranto, who had been one of the greatest intriguers, recommended Napoleon to their attention and protection. In return, they sent him a deputation expressing the respect and gratitude with which they accepted the noble sacrifice he had made to the independence and happiness of the French people. These congratulations were coldly received.

The Chamber of Peers followed the example of the Deputies, and the Emperor recommended to them not to forget that he had abdicated only in favour of his son. From the free scope which had been given by this event, almost every one of the representatives thought himself called upon to offer the plan of a new government. The republicans hoped to introduce the federal scheme. The Buonapartists wished to place the crown on the young Napoleon, and to put Marie Louise at the head of the regency. The partizans of the duke of Orleans flattered themselves with the idea of seating him on the throne.

Just after the abdication had been made known, the army of marshal Grouchy, which was supposed to have been destroyed, entered France, and it appeared that prince Jerome, marshal Soult, generals Moraud, Colbert, and others, had succeeded in rallying the wreck of Waterloo, and formed a

body of 50 or 60,000 men, whose sentiments in favour of Napoleon had undergone no alteration.

Whilst the Chamber of Deputies continued to discuss a number of questions without coming to any specific conclusions, Fouché began to be uneasy at Napoleon's residence being so near them as the Elyseum. His party first requested that the Chamber should require the Ex-emperor, in the name of the country, to remove from the capital; but this having no effect, endeavours were made to frighten him by suggestions that attempts were making against his life. It is acknowledged that nothing could have been more easy than to carry off or assassinate Napoleon. His palace, which a few days before could scarcely contain the crowd of ambitious men and servile courtiers, soon became a vast solitude. Even his guard had been reduced to a few old grenadiers, whilst a single sentinel, scarcely in uniform, watched his gate. But lest his residing in an imperial palace might cause the sincerity of his abdication to be called in question, Napoleon himself determined to remove.

On the 25th, at noon, Napoleon set off for Malmaison, where he was received by the princess Hortensia. Her situation, and that of her brother, must have wounded her to the heart, yet she found sufficient strength of mind to suppress her sorrows and console Napoleon's attendants. "Restraining her own tears," said M. Fleury, "she reminded us, with the wisdom of a philosopher and the sweetness of an angel, that we should submit with docility to the decrees of providence."

At Malmaison Napoleon in a great measure recovered his spirits, activity, and energy, and he could not suppress his desire of sending an address to the brave soldiers of the army before Paris, dated Malmaison, June 25, 1815, and concluding, "Yet a few efforts and the coalition is dissolved." This address the government would not allow to be published in the Moniteur.

The complaints, the regrets, the threats, that

escaped Napoleon every day, alarmed the promoters of his fall more and more. Upon reflection they turned pale at the name of Napoleon, and solicited the government, night and day, to make him embark as soon as possible. His first intention was to come to England, and there place himself under the protection of hospitality and the laws. The advice of others induced him to incline to the United States. An American captain at Havre had been completely gained; and several Americans at Paris wrote to him of their own accord, to offer their service, and assure him, in the name of their fellow citizens, that he would be received at Washington with the sentiments of respect, admiration, and devotion that were his due; but Napoleon refused these offers, though he would have accepted of two frigates from the French government to have conveyed him to America, provided they would place them at his disposal, with necessary passports and safe conduct from lord Wellington; but it seems the French government was not desirous, at bottom, of letting Napoleon depart. In fact he was a prisoner at Malmaison, from the time that general count Beker, a member of the Chamber of Deputies was named commander of the Emperor's guard, and directed to Malmaison, to watch over the conservation of the person of Napoleon, and to prevent ill-disposed persons from making use of his name to excite disturbances.—When count Beker first came there, it was supposed he had orders to arrest Napoleon, and Gorgaud and some officers swore no one should lay a hand on him. However, this officer had already explained the nature of his mission, and the Emperor ordered his attendants to pay general Beker a proper respect. It is said he knew perfectly well how to reconcile his duty with the attentions that were due to Napoleon. Still the princess Hortensia was so affected by this circumstance, that she exclaimed, "O my God!" lifting her eyes to

heaven, "Was I born to see the Emperor a prisoner to the French at Malmaison."

It seems that M. Fouché and his party, who pretended that the Emperor might still form plots, deprived him by degrees, under one pretence or another, of all the officers on whose attachment he could depend.*

Thus Napoleon remained at Malmaison almost alone, till the minister of marine came to inform him that the enemy were at Compeigne, and that the committee, apprehensive for his safety, requested him to depart *incognito*. He promised to depart, but when he heard the distant sound of cannon, his whole body thrilled: and he lamented, in a tone of despair, that he was condemned to remain far from the field of battle. He ordered general Beker to be called, and prevailed on him to go to Paris and carry a letter to the government, offering to take the command of the army, and beat the enemy, not that he intended to seize the sovereign power, but to pursue his journey as soon as victory should have given a favorable turn to the negociations with foreign powers. The duke of Otranto read the letter of Napoleon aloud, and exclaimed, "Is he laughing at us." His proposal was rejected, though it is clear he had different expectations, having ordered his chargers to be saddled immediately after Beker's departure.—When he returned to Malmaison, the Emperor snatched the answer of the committee out of his hand, and after reading it, exclaimed, "I was sure of it; these people have no energy.—Well, general, since it is so, let us be gone." He then despatched M. de Flahaut to Paris, to concert measures for his departure. The prince of Eckmuhl was at the Tuilleries when M. de Flahaut arrived. "This

* It appears that Fouché had appointed general Beker to the unthankful office of guarding Napoleon, because he knew the general had a private pique against him; but so far from gratifying so dishonourable a feeling, the latter constantly shewed a degree of respect towards the Emperor highly laudable.

Buonaparté of your's" said he, in a tone of anger and contempt, " will not depart; but we must get rid of him. Tell him, from me, that he must go, and that if he do not depart immediately, I will arrest him myself." M. de Flahaut, fired with indignation, answered, " I could not have believed, M. Marshal, that a man who was at the knees of Napoleon a week ago, could to-day hold such language. I have too much respect for the person and misfortunes of the Emperor, to report to him your words: go yourself, M. Marshal." When de Flahaut returned, the Emperor easily divined that something had cut him to the quick; when with some reluctance, Napoleon being told all that passed, he said, " Remain in the army, and like me, forget the prince of Eckmuhl and his dastardly menaces."

After Napoleon had spent several days in listening to the various proposals of his friends, as to where he should go, he at length resolved to entrust his fate " to fortune and to the winds." But the committee advised, by a despatch from the French plenipotentiaries, " that the escape of Napoleon before the conclusion of the negociations, would be considered as an act of bad faith, and informed him, that he must await anew the arrival of the safe conduct. Thus he was obliged to remain. M. Fleury then went to Paris, and learned that the Prussians designed to carry off the Emperor; that Blucher had said, " If I can catch Buonaparté, I will hang him up at the head of my army." And that Wellington had strenuously opposed this cowardly design. The Emperor after this, took some measures to secure himself against a surprize; but they were needless, the friends that were about his person would have shed their last drop of blood in his defence.

At half after three in the morning, he was informed that lord Wellington had refused the safe conduct, and he was consequently ordered to depart immediately. When all was ready he pressed

the princess Hortensia to his bosom, tenderly embraced his friends, melting with tears, but his demeanour was firm, his voice calm, and his countenance serene.

On the 29th of June, at five in the afternoon, he threw himself into a carriage prepared for his suite, and made general Gorgaud and his orderly officers take that intended for himself. His eyes were several times turned to that last abode, so long the witness of his happiness and power.

When they left Malmaison, Las Cases and part of the Emperor's suite took the road to Rochefort, by Tours. On the 1st of July they passed through Limoges, and on the 2nd, dined at Rochefacault, and reached Jarnac about seven; at which place they were detained all night and part of the next, by the ill will and misconduct of the post master, so that they were obliged to proceed full speed to Cognac. On reaching Saintes, towards eleven o'clock, they were dreadfully annoyed by some furious miscreants, collected by an officer of the royal guard, whom Napoleon's return from Elba had displaced. This person had prepared an ambuscade, and it was understood, would have assassinated Napoleon or his attendants, had they not been rescued by a part of the national guard, who conducted them as prisoners to an inn. Here some of the most distinguished inhabitants, and above all the women, were the most outrageous in calling out for vengeance. In the evening the face of affairs had changed almost to the opposite extreme. Prince Joseph arriving at Saintes, increased the agitation; he was arrested and conducted to the prefecture, but otherwise very respectfully treated.

On the 3d in the evening, the Emperor reached Rochfort, where he no longer wore a military dress; but lived at the prefect's house, about which numbers of people were constantly assembled.—He appeared two or three times at the balcony, and numerous proposals were made to him by generals, who came in person, and others who sent emissa-

ries. On the 8th, in the evening, the Emperor proceeded to Fourras, followed by the acclamations of the people wherever he appeared.

It must be allowed, that on the negociations between the ministers of the allies and the French committee, the latter had done every thing in their power to soften the fate of the Ex-emperor, but their propositions on this head and others were evaded, as the object of the foreign powers was again to see their armies in possession of Paris.

The soldiers, discouraged by Napoleon's abdication and the reports of the return of the Bourbons, were no longer formidable. The generals were intimidated whilst marshal Grouchy, now considered as their leader, openly avowed that he looked upon the national cause as lost, and awaited only a favourable opportunity to pacify the Bourbons and their allies, by a prompt and complete submission. The committee, however, still suspecting Grouchy, obtained an account of the state of the army from general Corbineau, but prohibited marshal Grouchy from negociating any armistice, or commencing any negociation, and ordered him to lead his army to Paris. The prince of Eckmuhl, imitating the conduct of Grouchy, declared to the government that there was no time to be lost in recalling the Bourbons. Marshal Grouchy, dissatisfied, gave in his resignation on the score of ill health, and the prince of Eckmuhl was appointed to succeed him.

On the 30th of June the Chambers were informed that the enemy was within sight of the capital, and a suspension of arms requested from lord Wellington was refused, under the pretext that Napoleon Buonaparté was in Paris, and at *liberty*. After Lord Wellington had been informed of the departure of Buonaparté, he excused the granting of an armistice till he had conferred with prince Blucher. The armistice still being refused, it was stated that it was resolved the allies should enter Paris, to secure the honest people there from plun-

der. Fouché had previously caused a letter to be conveyed to lord Wellington, informing him that the enthusiasm of the Federates and Bonapartists was at the height, and that it would be impossible to restrain them, if the duke of Wellington did not come and put an end to their disputes, by the occupation of Paris.—The prince of Eckmuhl being consulted about the safety of this city, said, "it would be impregnable if the inhabitants would make it a second Saragossa; but as there was not a sufficient harmony in their sentiments, the most prudent part would be to obtain a suspension of hostilities at any price.

On the 2nd of July, a council having been called to decide, peremptorily, upon the defence or surrender of Paris, it was agreed unanimously, to deliver it into the hands of the allies, since the allies would not suspend hostilites upon any other condition. After all, this was not granted without some humiliating terms. The army, as agreed upon, began its march beyond the banks of the Loire; but as it had not ceased to call upon Napoleon, the French government, fearful lest he should come and put himself at the head of patriots and soldiers, sent to general Beker to hasten the Emperor's departure, "and without departing from the respect due to him, to employ all the means necessary to get him embarked."—But it appears, that on the preceding day, when the French plenipotentiaries received their dismissal from the head-quarters of the allies at Hageneau, the note that conveyed it to them, contained the following passage:—"The three powers consider it as an essential condition of peace and real tranquillity, that Napoleon Buonaparté shall be incapable of disturbing the repose of France, and of Europe for the future: and in consequence of the events that occurred in the month of March last, *the powers must insist that Napoleon Buonaparté be placed in their custody.*

On the 7th of July, at five in the afternoon, several Prussian battalions surrounded the palace

where the government was sitting, and they were compelled to separate. And on the 8th of July, Louis XVIII. in triumph took possession of his capital and his throne. On the same day, the Emperor, who had been some time at Rochefort, went on board the frigate La Saale, prepared to receive him. His suite was put on board the Medusa, and on the 9th, the two vessels anchored at the isle of Aix. Napoleon, who could not leave off acting the Emperor, ordered the garrison under arms, and praised or blamed as if he had still been sovereign master of the state.

On the 10th, an English fleet of eleven vessels were cruising within sight of the port. On the 11th, Napoleon sent to inquire of the English Admiral whether he was authorised to allow him liberty to repair to England or to the United States. The answer was, "that he was ready to receive Napoleon and convey him to England."—Unsatisfied with this answer, Napoleon had some idea of going on board an American vessel at the mouth of the Gironde, whose captain would have been happy and proud to have received him; he also refused the proffered assistance of some young midshipmen, full of courage and devotion, who, with two barks, swore they would forfeit their lives if they did not convey him to New-York. On the 14th of July, having given up the idea of attempting the passage to America, he caused the English admiral to be informed, that on the following day he would come on board his vessel. On the 15th, in the morning, he went off in the brig L'Epervier, and was received on board the Bellerophon, with the honours due to his rank. Yet when general Beker came alongside with him, he could not help saying, "Withdraw, general, I would not have it believed that a Frenchman is come to deliver me into the hands of my enemies." On the 16th, the Bellerophon set sail for England.

The Emperor had prepared a letter to the Prince

Regent, which general Gorgaud was directed to carry to him immediately. It was as follows:—

Rochefort, July 13th, 1815.

"ROYAL HIGHNESS,

"Exposed to the factions that distract my country, and to the enmity of the greatest powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career; and I come, like Themistocles, to seat myself on the hearth of the British people. I put myself under the protection of its laws, which I claim of your Royal Highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies."

General Gourgaud had orders to make known to the Prince that it was Napoleon's intention to retire into any of the counties of England, and live peaceably and unknown under the name of colonel Duroc.

When he arrived at Plymouth, he was not permitted to land, but was soon informed that the allied powers had decided that he should be treated as a prisoner of war, and confined at St. Helena.—He protested in vain against this violation of his most sacred rights, his liberty, and his person, but finally submitted with calm and majestic resignation, and was soon afrer removed on board the Northumberland.

On the 24th of July, the Bellerophon arrived at Torbay, and on the 26th, Napoleon sailed to Plymouth, preparatory to his embarkation on board the Northumberland, commanded by admiral Cockburn, designed to sail to St. Helena; from which vessel he despatched the following protest to lord Keith, against his removal to that island.

"I solemnly protest, in the face of heaven, and of all men, against the violation of every sacred right towards me, since it is by force that my person and my liberty are disposed of. I voluntarily delivered myself up to the Bellerophon; I am therefore no prisoner, but the guest of England.

"Once embarked on board the Bellerophon, I was under the safeguard of the English people. If the government, when issuing orders to the commander of the vessel to receive me, with all my retinue, only sought to entrap me, it has broken the ties of honour and disgraced the British flag.

"If this order is to be put into effect, in vain will the English henceforth proclaim their integrity, their laws, and their liberty to Europe. Hospitality thus violated on board the Bellerophon, must for ever compromise the good faith of England.

"I appeal therefore to history, which will record that an enemy, who for twenty years made war upon the British nation, came freely, in his misfortune, to demand an asylum under the safeguard of their laws. What proof more striking could be given of his esteem and his confidence? But in what manner have the English replied,—they tendered the hand of hospitality to that enemy, and when he delivered himself up, they sacrificed him ! ! !

"On board the Bellerophon at sea, 4th of August, 1815.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

During the passage from the French coast to Torbay, the officers snd crew of the Bellerophon treated Napoleon with all the respect they would have shewn a sovereign prince ; and although orders were soon after issued by the British government, to consider and treat him merely as a general officer, yet so completely had he ingratiated himself into the favour of all on board, that these orders were but very imperfectly obeyed. His suite treated him with the most profound respect. They never approached him, nor entered into any conversation with him, but at his invitation, and always uncovered: but he conversed frequently and familiarly with the officers, and even with the seamen and marines. He said to captain Maitland, at first coming on board, "I am come to claim the protection of your prince and your laws." He then declared he would have perished rather than have delivered himself to Russia, Austria, or Prussia. "The sovereigns of these countries" he said, "were despotic, and might have violated with impunity, all justice and good faith by his imprisonment or death. But in surrendering himself to the British nation, he threw himself upon the generosity and on the protection of the laws. Politics he had for ever abandoned, and to the invitation of the French army of the Loire, to place himself at their head, he had before he left Rochefort

returned a decided negative answer. Speaking of the battle of Waterloo, he gave a similar account of the cause of the disaster to that in his bulletin, adding that he was *betrayed* by some of his generals, and that he had no chance against the bravery of the best troops in the world, and the treachery of those in whom he most confided. Speaking of his former achievements, he said, " I ought to have died when I entered Moscow; then I had attained the pinnacle of my glory; but from that hour, reverses and disgraces have perpetually pursued me. And yet, had I followed the dictates of my own mind, I might now have been great and happy. I would have made peace at Dresden. I would have made peace at Chatillon, had not the duke of Bassano, with well meant, but fatal zeal, dissuaded me."

Whilst the British cabinet was probably deliberating upon the proper method to be pursued in disposing of their fallen enemy, Napoleon yielded to the illusory hope, that he should be permitted to reside in England under some strict but not oppressive *surveillance*. Cherished by this expectation, he seemed to forget his misfortunes in the contemplation of the novel and impressive scene exhibited by upwards of a thousand boats, occupied at least by more than 10,000 spectators, which floated round the Bellerophon, to catch a sight of its imperial guest. On his appearance on deck the officers and seamen, by a simultaneous movement, uncovered, without orders, a compliment always returned by the spectators in the bay, which then resounded with acclamations. During several days these scenes were repeated, whilst the sensation created along the coast by this unexpected visitor was undescribable. His person was then described as about five feet seven inches in height, very strongly made and well proportioned; very broad and deep chest; legs and thighs proportioned with great symmetry and strength; a small round and handsome foot; his eyes the most piercing

imaginable; his hair dark brown; no appearance of grey; his features handsome, and his step and demeanour altogether commanding. Napoleon heard of the decision of the British council respecting him, through the medium of the newspapers, before it was officially announced to him: and at first his rage and mortification were extreme. The official communication was made to him by Sir Henry Banbury, on the 2nd of August, and at the same time he was informed, that four of his friends (with their families,) to be chosen by himself, and twelve of his domestics, would be allowed to attend him into exile. In vain he protested against these measures in the most emphatic manner.

On Friday the 4th of August, the Bellerophon sailed from Torbay to meet the Northumberland off Berry Head; and on the Sunday following, lord Keith and Sir George Cockburn proceeded on board the former ship to settle with Napoleon the exact period of his intended removal. The ceremony with which the fallen Emperor had hitherto been treated, was now to be discontinued, and the Admiral in approaching him, simply pulled off his hat, and said, "How do you do, *general* Buonaparté? Surprised at being thus saluted, Napoleon hesitated an instant, and then replied to the enquiry in a slight and laconic manner. After a long expostulation against the perfidy and injustice practised against him, he concluded by a peremptory refusal to quit the ship. Lord Keith in reply observed, that he acted under the orders of his government, and that he hoped he should not be under the necessity of using coercive measures.—"No, no," replied Napoleon, "you command, I must obey.—You may take me, but remember, I do not go with my own free will." He then presented to his Lordship a formal protest in writing, in the presence of several witnesses, and appointed the hour of ten next morning to be taken on board the Northumberland. About half past eleven on Monday morning, lord Keith, and his attendants,

came alongside the Bellerophon, in the barge. As soon as the baggage was removed, the parting scene commenced, and the separation was truly affecting.—All wept; but marshal Savary and a Polish colonel appeared most deeply affected.—The Pole had accompanied Buonaparté through many of his campaigns, and had received seventeen wounds in his service. He clung to his knees, and requested lord Keith's permission to attend his master, even in the most menial capacity; but the orders of government were peremptory, and this brave officer's request could not possibly be complied with.

Count Bertrand, his wife, and three children, the count and countess Montholon, count Las Cases and general Gorgaud, with nine men and three women servants remained with Buonaparté. Marshal Savary and general L'Allemand were left behind in the Bellerophon, to be sent to Malta, and the remainder of his suite, were put on board the Eurotes frigate. M. Maingault, the surgeon of Napoleon, was the only one of his attendants who refused to accompany him, and his place was most fortunately supplied by Mr. O'Meara, the surgeon of the Bellerophon. During the transhipment from the barge, Napoleon exhibited no symptoms of despondency, but on the contrary, appeared more cheerful than usual. He mounted the side of the vessel with the activity of a seaman, and advancing to Sir George Cockburn, he said, "Admiral, I once more protest against the injustice of your country:" and soon after joined in a kind of general conversation.

'Till he went on board the Northumberland, Napoleon was scarcely ever more than fifteen minutes at his dinner; here the two courses alone occupied from an hour to an hour and a half: this was to him extremely tedious, and though he never mentioned it, his features, gestures, and manner, always evinced perfect indifference. He was attended by his two valets, who stood behind his

chair. At first the Admiral used to offer to help the Emperor, but his acknowledgment of this attention was expressed so coldly, that this was discontinued: not that the Admiral was less polite than before, but he now only pointed out to the servants what was preferable; to which Napoleon seemed totally indifferent. He was generally silent at table, remaining, in the midst of a conversation, as if totally unacquainted with the French language, which was generally spoken. If he spoke, it was to ask some technical or scientific question, or to address a few words to those whom the Admiral occasionally asked to dinner. To avoid the tedium of a long dinner-time, the Emperor, after the first day, rose as soon as coffee had been handed round, and went out on deck, followed by Las Cases and marshal Bertrand. On the Admiral's expressing some surprize at this conduct, Madame Bertrand, whose maternal language is English, rather warmly replied, "Do not forget, Admiral, that your guest is a man who has governed a large portion of the world, and that kings once contended for the honour of being admitted to his table." "Very true," replied the Admiral; who from that moment did his utmost to accommodate the Emperor in his habits. He shortened the time of sitting at table, ordering coffee for Napoleon and his suite, even before the rest of the company had finished their dinner. The moment Napoleon had taken his coffee he left the cabin, upon which every one rose till he had quitted it, and then continued to take their wine for another hour.

According to Buonaparté's own account, the giving himself up to England was not so simple a matter, on his part, as some may have imagined.—Before he went to Elba, in May, 1814, he said, Lord Castlereagh offered him an asylum in England, where he would be well treated, and much better off than in Elba. Buonaparté mentioned a report spread by Castlereagh, that he had applied

for an asylum in England, but that it was not thought proper to grant it. The real fact, said Napoleon, is, "that he first proposed it."—Before I went to Elba, lord Castlereagh said to Caulincourt, "Why does Napoleon think of going to Elba? let him come to England, he will be received in London with the greatest pleasure, and experience the best possible treatment. He must not, however, ask permission to come, as that would take up too much time; but let him give himself up to us, without making any conditions." This, Napoleon added, "had much influence with me afterwards."

Whilst on board the Northumberland, it was observed, he stamped the usual impression on every one here, as elsewhere, of his being an extraordinary man. Nothing escaped his notice; his eyes were in every place, and on every object, from the greatest to the most minute. All the general regulations of the service, from the lord high admiral to the seaman—their duties, views, expectations, pay, rank, and comforts, were scanned with characteristic keenness and rapidity. The machinery of the ship, blocks, masts, yards, ropes, rigging, and every thing else, underwent similar scrutiny. He sent for the boatswain, who in the French service usually fits out the ship, to learn the minutest particulars. By his desire the marines passed in review on the quarter-deck. He examined their arms, dress, and evolutions, with attention, and expressed himself highly satisfied. The grog, tobacco, clothes, food, pay, prize-money, and routine of duty of the seamen, were equally inquired into. When informed that the necesasaries were supplied by a purser or commissary, he jocularly remarked, they were sometimes sad rogues.

The ill-fated Maria-Louisa remained devotedly attached to Napoleon. When he had surrendered himself to England, she applied to learning the English language, with the apparent hope of pass-

ing her days with him in this country. Disappointed in that expectation, after he had sailed from Plymouth, she cherished his remembrance by frequent visits to a romantic valley in the neighbourhood of Vienna, called by the same name as the place of his deportation, St. Helena. In November, 1815, she made a voyage on board an English vessel to Porto Ferrajo, in the isle of Elba. After having announced that the only motive that induced her to come to the island, was the desire to *visit the house which had been occupied by her husband* Napoleon, she landed with all her suite, and proceeded directly to the place of her pilgrimage, which she visited with a sort of religious attention and devotion, observing every thing in the minutest detail, and particularly Napoleon's chamber. Arrived in the saloon, she perceived his portrait, and stopping before it, she said, "*Napoleon, I salute thee; I have had, and shall preserve all my life, the greatest esteem for thee.*" The illustrious lady then passed into the billiard-room, and some one having presented to her the cue with which he used to play, she signified her desire to have it, and to inclose it in a box as a *precious memento.*— The next day she returned, and dined at his habitation, where she passed the night. At her departure she appeared satisfied with all that she had seen, and very contented with her voyage.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Napoleon on his Voyage to St Helena.—Arrival.—Behaviour of the Crew of the Northumberland.—Reflections.—Descriptions of the Emperor's Residence at the Briars, Longwood, &c.—Complaints against Sir Hudson Lowe.—Lord Holland's Motion and Lord Bathurst's Answer.—Treatment of Napoleon by Sir Hudson Lowe.—Letters from Count Montholon.—Marshal Bertrand, &c.—Napoleon's bodily Constitution.—Anecdotes.—Agonizing Feelings for his Son.—Removal of Count Las Cases from St. Helena.—Napoleon's Apprehensions for his Writings.—Disposition of the British Ministers to soften the Rigour of his Confinement.—Progress of his Disease.—Death and Interment at St. Helena. &c. &c.

THE course of the Northumberland was shaped to cross the bay of Biscay, and double cape Finisterre. The wind was fair though light, and for a long time nothing could be more dull and monotonous than the time passed by Napoleon and his attendants. The Emperor breakfasted in his own cabin at any hour, but his suite took theirs at ten, in the French style, whilst the English continued to breakfast in their own way, at eight.

The Emperor sent for one of his suite every morning, to know what was going on; as the distance we had run, the state of the wind, and other particulars connected with the ship's progress. He read a great deal, dressed at four o'clock, and then came into the general cabin: here he played at chess with one of the party. About five, it was generally announced from the Admiral that dinner was ready. The Emperor after dinner would remain walking upon deck with one or two attendants; this became a regular practice.

Whilst Las Cases was walking with the Emperor at the usual hour, one day in the stern gallery, Na-

poleon drew from under his waistcoat (still conversing on a totally different subject) a kind of girdle, which he handed to Las Cases, saying, "Take care of that for me" Without interrupting him, Las Cases placed it under his own waistcoat. The Emperor told him soon after that, it contained a diamond necklace worth 200,000 francs, which queen Hortensie forced him to accept when he left Malmaison in 1815. After they arrived at St. Helena, Las Cases frequently spoke to Napoleon of returning the necklace, but never received any reply. Having mentioned the subject again at Longwood, Napoleon dryly asked, "Does it annoy you?" "No, Sire," was the reply. "Keep it then," said he. From wearing the girdle so long, Las Cases thought so little about it, that it was not till some days after he had been torn from Longwood, that it recurred to his memory. He could not bear the idea of depriving the Emperor of such a resource. Still he was in the most rigorous confinement, surrounded by gaolers and sentinels. He knew not whom to trust: at last, an Englishman, to whom he had often spoken, came to the prison on a particular errand, and Las Cases being determined to run all risks, addressing the Englishman, said, he thought he was a man of principle, "and I am going to put it to the test; though with nothing injurious or contrary to your honour: merely a rich deposit to be restored to Napoleon. If you accept the charge, my son will put it into your pocket." He answered only by slackening his pace, and the necklace was transferred to this man, almost in sight of military attendants. Before Las Cases quitted the island, he had the inexpressible satisfaction of knowing that the necklace had reached the hands of the Emperor.—How generous such a trait on the part of an enemy, and under such circumstances! On returning to the after-cabin, the Emperor would sit down to play a *vingt-et-un*, but generally retired in half an hour.

Having doubled Cape Finisterre, and passed Cape St. Vincent, the heat became so excessive, that Napoleon only wore a very slight dress, and as he could not sleep, frequently rose in the night.—After the preliminary remarks on the weather, the ship's progress, and the winds, Napoleon used to start a subject of conversation, or revive that of the preceding or some former day; and having taken eight or nine turns the whole length of the deck, would seat himself on the second gun from the gangway, on the larboard side. The midshipmen soon observed his habitual predilection, so that this cannon was thenceforth called the Emperor's gun: there the Emperor would often converse for hours together. The midshipmen on board the Northumberland behaved with marked respect and attention to the Emperor. There was always a bustle when the sailors, upon a given signal in the evening fetched down their hammocks, which had been placed in the ship's nettings in the morning. These officers, either by signs or words, constantly directed the sailors to avoid incommoding him.—The Emperor frequently remarked this conduct, and observed, "that youthful hearts were always inclined to enthusiasm."

On passing the line, when the crew and others, if strangers, are christened, or otherwise ducked, the Emperor was scrupulously respected during the whole of this Saturnalian festivity, when regard is seldom not paid to any one. In return for this consideration, the Emperor ordered a hundred Napoleons to be distributed to the grotesque Neptune and his crew.

But independent of Napoleon's bounty towards the crew of the Northumberland, there were other reasons by which their opinion of him were wonderfully changed. When he first came on board, they regarded him as an *ogre*, a kind of raw-head and bloody-bones. On a better acquaintance, and a narrower inspection into his manner and conduct, both officers and men equally felt the power

of truth. The son of M. Las Cases, a youth who was much among the young officers, one of whom was son to Sir Robert Wilson, was one of the first that observed the change that took place amongst the companions in favour of the French. His father's accusations against Buonaparté, many years before, had been freely canvassed and condemned. This change, however, was at the expense of young Wilson, who for some time was *scouted* by his companions, by way of expiation for the stories which his father had circulated.

At length, about seventy days after the Northumberland's departure from England, the ship cast anchor at St. Helena, about noon, on the 15th of October, 1815. The Emperor, contrary to custom, dressed early, and went on deck to view the island.

"We beheld," says Las Cases, "a kind of village surrounded by numerous naked and barren hills, towering to the clouds. Every platform, every aperture was planted with cannon. The precise instructions of ministers were, that the Emperor and his suite should be detained on board till a place on shore was ready for their reception; but admiral Cockburn was incapable of such barbarity, and they were informed, that he would take upon himself the responsibility of putting them on shore the following day. Thus, the 16th of October, 1815, terminated the voyage to St. Helena. After dining on board the Northumberland, the Emperor, accompanied by the grand marshal, Bertrand, got into a boat to go a-shore. By a remarkable and irresistible impulse, the officers all assembled on the quarter-deck, and the greater part of the crew on the gangways. This was not the effect of curiosity, which an acquaintance of three months duration could not fail to have removed, and which was now succeeded by the liveliest interest The Emperor, before he stept into the boat, sent for the captain of the vessel, and took leave of him, desiring him at the same time to convey his thanks to the officers and crew. These words appeared to produce a

great sensation on all by whom they were understood, or to whom they were interpreted. The remainder of the Emperor's suite landed about eight o'clock: they were accompanied by several of the officers, and every one on board seemed to be sincerely affected at our departure. A few minutes after their arrival, he went up stairs to his chamber, where his followers were called to attend him. His situation here was no better than it had been on board the vessel; they found themselves lodged in a better sort of inn or hotel.*

Thus in the course of a few weeks the Emperor of the west, the dispenser of crowns and sceptres, found himself immured for life in a small volcanic island, measuring ten miles in length, and seven in breadth, at a distance of 6,000 miles from the scene of his immortal exploits in arms, and separated from the two great continents of Africa and America by unfathomable seas.

At six in the morning, the day after the Emperor landed, the Emperor, the Grand Marshal, and the Admiral rode to visit Longwood, the house chosen for Napoleon's residence The Emperor was extremely unwilling to return to the place where he had passed the preceding night, as the sentinels who guarded his doors, and the crowds that curiosity had attracted beneath his windows, were extremely disagreeable. A small pavillion attached to the place, however, pleased him, and the admiral, Cockburn, thought he would be more agreeably situated there than in the town. The pavillion or summer-house, which Napoleon had chosen, was about thirty or forty paces from Mr. Balcombe's dwelling house, called *The Briars;* and here the family used to retire, in fine weather, to take tea and amuse themselves.

In no situation of his past life had the Emperor

* The island of St. Helena contains but one short street, called James Town, consisting of a row of houses built along a narrow valley, formed between two hills, on the summit of a barren rock, and here was situated the abode of Napoleon, on his landing.

been so wretchedly lodged. The windows had neither curtains nor shutters, and there was scarcely a seat in the room. Whilst the two valets-de-chambre were bustling about to prepare Napoleon's bed, he took a fancy to walk a little, but there was no level ground on any side of the pavillion. Las Cases's bed-room, above his, was about seven feet square, there was only a bed, and not a single chair. Young Las Cases had a mattress spread on the floor, and Napoleon's valets slept on the ground at his door, wrapped up in their cloaks. Such was the description of the first night which the Emperor passed at the Briars. At first Napoleon's dinner was sent him ready cooked, from James' Town, about a mile and a half distant, but afterwards Mr. Balcombe found means to get a kitchen fitted up for his use.

Mr. Balcombe's family consisted of his wife, two daughters, one about twelve and the other fifteen years of age, and two boys of five or six. The young ladies spoke French fluently, and Napoleon frequently dropt in to play a rubber of whist, or hold a little *conversazione*. On one occasion he indulged them by participating in a game of blind-man's buff, very much to the amusement of the young ladies. Nothing was left undone by this worthy family that could contribute to lessen the inconvenience of his situation.

He occasionally received some visitors, who came to pay their respects to him on the lawn before the house; and, in a few instances, some who had received that permission, were presented to him, when at Mr. Balcombe's, in the evening. He frequently walked for hours in the shady paths and shrubberies of the Briars, where care was taken to prevent his being intruded upon. During one of these walks he stopped and pointed out to Dr. O'Meara the frightful precipices which environed them, and said, "Behold your country's generosity, *this* is their liberality to the unfortunate man, who, blindly relying on what he so falsely imagined to be their national character, in an evil hour, unsuspectingly confided

himself to them.—I once thought, that you were free: I now see that your ministers laugh at your laws, which are, like those of other nations, formed only to oppress the defenceless, and screen the powerful whenever your government has any object in view." By Napoleon's subsequent removal to the house at Longwood, his situation was by no means improved. His bed-room here was about fourteen feet by twelve, and ten or eleven feet in height. The walls were lined with brown nankeen, bordered and edged with common green bordering paper, and destitute of surbase: two small windows, without pullies, looking towards the camp of the 53d regiment, one of which was thrown up and fastened by a piece of notched wood. Window curtains of white long cloth, a small fire-place, a shabby grate, and fire-irons to match, with a paltry mantle-piece of wood, painted white, upon which stood a small marble bust of his son. Above the mantle-piece hung the portrait of Marie Louise, and four or five of young Napoleon, one of which was embroidered by the hands of the mother. A little more to the right hung also a miniature picture of the Empress Josephine, and to the left was suspended the alarm chamber-watch of Frederic the Great, obtained by Napoleon at Potsdam; while on the right, the consular watch, engraved with the cypher B. hung by a chain of the plaited hair of Marie Louise, from a pin stuck in the nankeen lining. The floor was covered with a second-hand carpet, which had once decorated the dining-room of a lieutenant of the St. Helena artillery. In the right hand corner was placed the little plain iron camp bedstead, with green silk curtains, upon which its master had reposed on the fields of Marengo and Austerlitz. Between the windows there was a paltry second-hand chest of drawers; and an old book case with green blinds, stood on the left of the door leading to the next apartment. Four or five cane-bottomed chairs, painted green, were standing here and there about

the room. Before the back door there was a screen covered with nankeen, and between that and the fire-place an old-fashioned sofa covered with white long cloth, upon which reclined Napoleon, clothed in his white morning gown, white loose trowsers and stockings all in one. A chequered red Madras upon his head, and his shirt collar open, without a cravat. His air was melancholy and troubled. Before him stood a little round table, with some books, at the foot of which lay, in confusion upon the carpet, a heap of those he had already perused; and at the foot of a sofa, facing him, was suspended a portrait of the empress Marie Louise, with her son in her arms. In front of the fire-place stood Las Cases with his arms folded over his breast, and some papers in one of his hands. Of all the former magnificence of the once-mighty Emperor of France, nothing was present except a superb wash-hand-stand, containing a silver basin and a water jug of the same metal, in the left-hand corner.

Napoleon's hours of rising were uncertain, much depended upon the quantum of rest he had enjoyed during the night. He was in general a bad sleeper, and frequently got up at three or four o'clock, in which case he read or wrote until six or seven, at which time, when the weather was fine, he sometimes went out to ride, attended by some of his generals, or laid down again to rest for a couple of hours. When he retired to bed, he could not sleep unless the most perfect state of darkness was obtained, by the closure of every cranny through which a ray of light might pass; although I have sometimes seen him fall asleep on the sofa, and remain so for a few minutes in broad day-light.—When ill, Marchand occasionally read to him until he fell asleep. At times he rose at seven, and wrote or dictated until breakfast time; or, if the morning was very fine, he went out to ride. When he breakfasted in his own room, it was generally served on a little round table, at between nine and ten;

when along with the rest of his suite, at eleven; in either case *a la fourchette*. After breakfast, he generally dictated so some of his suite for a few hours, and at two or three o'clock received such visitors, as by previous appointment had been directed to present themselves. Between four and five, when the weather permitted, he rode out on horseback or in the carriage, accompanied by all his suite, for an hour or two; then returned and dictated or read until eight, or occasionally played a game at chess, at which time dinner was announced, which rarely exceeded twenty minutes or half an hour in duration. He ate heartily and fast, and did not appear to be partial to high-seasoned or rich food. One of his most favourite dishes was a roasted leg of mutton, of which I have seen him sometimes pare the outside brown part off; he was also partial to mutton chops. He rarely drank as much as a pint of claret at his dinner, which was generally much diluted with water. After dinner, when the servants had withdrawn, and when there were no visitors, he sometimes played at chess or at whist, but more frequently sent for a volume of Corneille, or of some other esteemed author, and read aloud for an hour, or chatted with the ladies and the rest of his suite. He usually retired to his bed-room at ten or eleven, and to rest immediately afterwards. When he breakfasted or dined in his own apartment *(dans l'interieur)*, he sometimes sent for one of his suite to converse with him during the repast. He never ate more than two meals a day; nor did he ever take more than a very small cup of coffee after each repast, and at no other time.

" While dressing he is attended by Marchand, St. Denis, and Novarre. One of the latter holds a looking-glass before him, and the other the necessary implements for shaving, while Marchand is in waiting to hand his clothes, *eau de Cologne*, &c.— When he has gone over one side of his face with the razor, he aks St. Denis or Novarre, " Is it

done?" and after receiving an answer, commences on the other. After he has finished, the glass is held before him to the light, and he examines whether he has removed every portion of his beard. If he perceives or feels that any remains, he sometimes lays hold of one of his attendants by the ear, or gives him a gentle slap on the cheek, in a good humoured manner, crying, 'Ah, *coquin*, why did you tell me it was done?' This, probably, has given rise to the report of his having been in the habit of beating and otherwise ill-treating his domestics. He then washes with water, in which some *eau de Cologne* has been mingled, a little of which he also sprinkles over his person, very carefully picks and cleans his teeth, frequently has himself rubbed with a flesh brush, changes his linen and flannel waistcoat, and dresses in white kerseymere (or brown nankeen) breeches, white waistcoat, silk stockings, shoes and gold buckles, and a green single-breasted coat with white buttons, black stock, with none of the white shirt collar appearing above it, and a three-cornered small cocked hat, with a little tricoloured cockade. When dressed, he always wears the cordon and grand cross of the legion of honour. When he has put on his coat, a little *bonbonnière*, his snuff-box, and handkerchief scented with *eau de Cologne*, are handed to him by Marchand, and he leaves the chamber."

In 1817, the numerous loose and contradictory reports that had been circulated about the ill-treatment that Napoleon Buonaparté received, were confirmed in a manner beyond doubt or contradiction, by a kind of official communication brought to England by M. Santini, one of Napoleon's suite.—M. Santini landed at Portsmouth on the 25th of February, 1817; he affirmed that Napoleon, on his arrival at St. Helena, was treated by Sir George Cockburn with respect and delicacy. He was afterwards transferred to Longwood, once a farm belonging to the East India company. In this

wretched asylum he still remains. His sleeping chamber is scarcely large enough to contain a bed and a few chairs The roof of this hovel consists of paper coated with pitch, which is beginning to rot, and through which the rain-water and dew penetrate. In addition to all these inconveniences, the house is infested by rats, who devour every thing that they can reach. All the Emperor's linen, even that which was lately sent from England, has been gnawed and completely destroyed by them. For want of closets, the linen is necessarily exposed upon the floor. When the Emperor is at dinner, the rats run about the apartment, and even creep between his feet. The report of a house having been sent from England is false. The *new* Governor has introduced into the house of the Emperor *absolute want*. The provisions he furnished were always in too small a quantity, and also very often of bad quality, and in the latter case, when sent back, were never replaced by others more fit for use. Often being without butcher's meat for the Emperor's table, the steward has sent to purchase a sheep for *four guineas*, and sometimes could only procure *pork* for making soup. Captain Poppleton, of the 53rd regiment, has often lent candles, as well as bread, butter, poultry, and even salt. M. Santini was, even from necessity, in the habit of repairing secretly to the English camp to purchase butter, eggs, and bread, of the soldiers' wives, otherwise the Emperor would often have been without breakfast, and even without dinner. The Governor sent seven servants to Longwood, but the Emperor was obliged to dismiss four of them, *from inability to supply them with food! The Emperor is limited to a bottle of wine per day!* Marshal and Madame Bertrand, general Montholon and his lady, general Gourgaud, and count De Las Cases, have also each their bottle. Marshal Bertrand has three children, M. de Montholon two; and M. de Las Cases one, about fifteen or sixteen years of age; and for all these mouths the Governor allows no rations.

In this state of things, the Emperor was compelled to sell all his plate to procure the first necessaries of life. M. Santini broke it in pieces before it was sent to the market. The produce was deposited, by order of the Governor, in the hands of Mr. Balcombe. When the house-steward, wishing to supply the deficiency of the provisions furnished by the Governor, makes purchases himself (which happens every day) he can only pay them by orders upon Mr. Balcombe. When M. Santini did not succeed in shooting a few pigeons in the neighbourhood of their dwelling, the Emperor frequently had nothing for breakfast. Provisions did not reach Longwood until two or three o'clock in the afternoon.

There is no water fit for cooking at Longwood. Very good water may, however, be procured at a distance of 1,200 yards, which might be conveyed to the Emperor's barracks at an expence of from 12 to 1,500 francs. The house is only supplied by the water brought from this fountain; it is open only once during the day, at all other times it is locked It is guarded by an English officer, who is scarcely ever present when water is wanted.—There is a conduit for conveying water to the English camp; but it was thought unnecessary to do as much for the unfortunate Napoleon. M. Santini was also the bearer of a letter, or memorial, written to Sir Hudson Lowe by count Montholon, in the name of Napoleon, in which, besides protesting against the right of England to detain him a prisoner at St. Helena, he confirms the reports of his ill treatment there, and states other particulars before unknown.

Though the delicacy of count Las Cases prevented him from mentioning to Sir Hudson Lowe the illegal misapplication of the wearing apparel and other necessaries, conveyed from England to St. Helena for the express use of Napoleon, it has been solemnly asserted, that various articles of furniture, and other necessaries, sent out from this

country at the public expense for the residents at Longwood, not even excepting the shirts made for the personal wear of Napoleon, were appropriated to the use of persons for whom they were never intended. Immediately after Sir Hudson Lowe's arrival in the island, the scanty supply of fresh butter was discontinued, which till then had been sent to Longwood; the milk from which it was produced, being thenceforward taken to Plantation House.

In March 1817, lord Holland made a motion in the House of Lords, to enquire into the necessity and policy of keeping Buonaparté confined at St. Helena, at the enormous expence of £200,000 annually, and whether Buonaparté had not been treated with unnecessary rigour, and he complained of the stoppage of a letter by Sir Hudson Lowe, which had been written by Napoleon to the Prince Regent of England; and of the small allowance of £8000 a year for Buonaparté and his suite, on such a spot. He contrasted the treatment of Buonaparté by the present ministers with that which the unfortunate Mary, Queen of Scotland, received from Queen Elizabeth, which had stained the annals of our history; and concluded by moving for copies of all instructions issued by government to the governor of St. Helena, relative to the person of Buonaparté; 2dly, for all accounts relative to the expences of Buonaparté; 3dly, copies of letters written by Buonaparté; 4thly, copies of letters written by persons attached to Buonaparté's person, and various other papers connected with Buonaparté, and the persons at St. Helena with him.

It is unnecessary to say, that this motion, being replied to by lord Bathurst, was negatived. In the course of his Lordship's answer to lord Holland, he affirmed, that none of the Emperor's relations, with the exception of his brother Joseph, had written to him at St. Helena.—In answer to this, count Las Cases had delivered to the Emperor three or four letters forwarded by earl Bathurst

himself to Napoleon. They were from Madame Mère, the princess of Borghese, and his brother Lucien.

It was to be expected that when the report of the debate on lord Holland's motion should come to the knowledge of Buonaparté, he would either be ashamed or angry at finding his veracity so pointedly impugned by a British minister He undertook to vindicate himself, and to retort the charge of misrepresentation on those who alleged it against him. A manuscript found its way to this country from St. Helena, entitled "Observations on Lord Bathurst's Speech in the House of Peers, on the 18th of March, 1817," signed "Napoleon," in which he approves of these observations, and desires that they may be seen by the sovereign and the people of England.—A large Appendix of official papers were subjoined, containing copies of the restrictions made by the governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, and some letters of a correspondence between that officer and the persons acting as secretaries to Buonaparté.

The observations are written in the manner of those comments on the speeches from the British throne, which occasionally appeared in the Moniteur, while Buonaparté was ruler of France. They are desultory and abrupt, like most of his proclamations and harangues. He takes occasion, in the outset, to protest against the bill in parliament of the 16th of April, 1816, which he calls an act of proscription similar to those of Sylla. He denies the authority of the parliament to place him at the disposal of ministers, and to invest them with the right of placing him under restrictions. He denies their power of delegating that right, and then proceeds to argue against the restrictions themselves—namely, the detention at St. Helena; the name imposed of *general* Buonaparté; the prohibition of going abroad on the island, unless accompanied by a British officer; and lastly, the obliga-

tion of having all letters which he may write or receive, opened and examined by the British authorities. He quotes, in succession, the principal statements in lord Batuurst's speech, respecting the treatment to which he is subjected at St. Helena, and severally contradicts them in very round terms, entering much into detail occasionally, and execrating the conduct of Sir Hudson Lowe, as capricious and cruel in the extreme degree.—These arguments and declamations are strangely mixed up with certain domestic disclosures respecting his personal condition, from which it appears that he found himself very ill accommodated at Longwood-house, which he described as having been originally a barn, and as situated on the most unhealthy and exposed spot on the island, destitute of water, trees, shade, and verdure. The Governor, whom he continually styles the commandant, having reduced the range originally allowed him; having forbidden him to hold conversations with the inhabitants, or go into any house; and having also insisted that an English officer must accompany him when he rides out; he had discontinued his favourite exercise, not having been on horseback for eighteen months. Under the conditions prescribed for his correspondence, he will not write or receive any letter. Such was the dearness of living at St. Helena, that the stipulated allowance of £8,000 a-year, divided by the number of individuals in his establishment, would scarcely amount to 10d. per head per diem, or "soldier's pay. The flour was so bad that he did not taste bread for three months. He has betaken himself to a sedentary life; his legs began to swell, and the scurvy had attacked his gums. He declared that an intention existed to terminate his life by agonies so protracted, as to make it appear that he died a natural death.

The treatment which Napoleon experienced in the years 1817 and 1818, is detailed, with much simplicity, in the letters written by count Bertrand

to count Las Cases, detailing the recent occurrences at St. Helena:

"Things," said M. Bertrand, "are materially altered since your departure In the year 1817 and this of 1818, the vexations practised against the Emperor are increased to that degree, that they can only be considered as an attempt upon his life. You shall judge of this by the detail. You cannot but have read in the newspapers of the month of March, certain observations of lord Bathurst's; but since then, things have got much worse, and the hatred of the Governor has no longer had any limits.

"When you left us, the Emperor gave up riding on horseback, to avoid the snares and the insults prepared for him, by exposing him to the insolence of the sentinels; to avoid similar inconveniences, he has been since obliged to debar himself even from the exercise of walking. During the months of March and April, the Emperor occasionally went out to call on my wife, and sometimes too, he used to seat himself fifty paces from the house, upon the bench near it, where he would remain half an hour or an hour; they devised means to prevent this, and to oblige him to confine himself closely to his room. They were aware that was no difficult task. They appointed a soldier of the 66th, for the gardener, and they stationed at my house a sergeant, or overseer of the workmen, both very useful at the house, either to remove any noxious weeds which might infect the air, (for it is an impossibility to have a garden on such a spot as this) or to repair the house, which is in ruins, and admits the water upon every shower. All this appeared very reasonable, but the Governor invested these two soldiers with the power of stopping whomsoever they pleased, at the very doors and under the windows of the Emperor. From that moment he has never been out, and it is now upwards of three months since he has put his head out of the windows.

"The climate—an entire deprivation of exercise—and this miserable habitation—have impaired his health so much, that you would not know him again. Ever since the end of September, 1817, he has felt the first symptoms of the chronic hepathesis, which you are aware is mortal in this country.—The good O'Meara attended him, in whom, you know, he has confidence. Sir Hudson Lowe, in the month of April, at the very time this doctor was most necessary to him, reduced him to the necessity of giving in his resignation, and wanted to foist upon him Mr. Baxter, whom you all know.—The Emperor refused to see any other medical attendant. From the 10th of April to the 10th of May he was without a doctor, and at last the Russian and Austrian commissioners, who were sent out here, being indignant at this treatment, gave the Governor to understand, that if the Emperor should die in that situation, they themselves would be at a loss what to say

if the opinion should prevail in Europe, that he had been assassinated. It appears this decided the Governor to re-instate the doctor: but there is no species of ill treatment they did not make Napoleon suffer. They wanted to get O'Meara driven from the table of the officers of the 66th, but these brave soldiers disdaining to participate in so arbitrary an act, Sir Hudson Low himself gave orders to the doctor, through the colonel, to discontinue the mess with the said officers. He has written to London, and it is probable they will send him away. The Emperor will receive no other; and if the Prince Regent or lord Liverpool decline taking cognizance of this fact, he may die here of disease, deprived even of the assistance of his medical adviser. The Emperor is, however, now very ill, and has been so for two months. He rises at eleven in the morning and retires again at two. Some few days ago he had an alarming crisis from the effects of the mercury which doctor O'Meara had given him, that being prescribed for the liver complaint. Doctor O'Meara being alarmed at his responsibility, proposed to me that we should call in Mr. Baxter and the surgeon of the Conqueror; they are the two principal medical men in the island. You know what repugnance the Emperor felt against Mr. Baxter, arising from his having formerly been a serjeant-major in the Italian battalion commanded by Sir Hudson Lowe: this aversion is since much heightened, from the circumstance of his having lent himself, from the month of October, 1817, to the month of March, 1818, in drawing up false bulletins, replete with untruths, which have deceived both his own government and Europe; but he saw no impropriety, although he cared little about it, at our having a Mr. Stockee called in, and he did in fact come to Longwood the same day, at three o'clock in the afternoon, but would not go in to the Emperor, feeling that his responsibility was compromised, and that he was in danger of losing the place he had acquired by thirty years service.—This appeared to me so extraordinary, that I could not credit it, and I saw him. He expressed to me his regret (for he is a very respectable old man) and easily explained the thing. He had been lightly given to understand he might go, in the same way as they did to Mr. Coles, the banker. I had some money accounts to settle with him, but when he came, he said he would not enter upon the subject except in the presence of the orderly officer, for if he did, he should be lost. Of course I declined that. The same case happened a few days ago with Mr. Fowler, who has arrived from England. I had an account to settle with him amounting to a few hundred pounds, for some clothes made in London. You are not aware of the situation we are in now; it can in no instance be compared with our situation in your time, and even then it was bad enough; and you sufficiently know our master, to induce you to use your influence to prevent any of the Emperor's family from coming out here. The spectacle

of the humiliations, the vexations, the hatred he is a prey to, would be utterly insupportable, were his mother or any of his brothers to come and share them. Even count de Montholon and myself, who are now the only persons with him, have been repeatedly pressed by him to go and release ourselves, and to leave him to himself. He assures us his agony would be less acute if he did not see that we also were the victims of this misery. You remember the officers have not visited me for a long time, but whenever they met us on the road, they had the civility to stop and speak with my wife. They have now been forbidden to do that, not in writing, but by insinuation, so that it has frequently happened, that these officers, on perceiving us have turned out of the road.

"Things have now come to such a pitch, that the foul linen remains several days to be searched by the orderly captain, and sometimes by the etat-major. This scene is not only highly indecent, but very humiliating to them; its only purpose is insult and outrage.

"In the month of June, 1816, a store-ship brought out a marble bust of young Napoleon. Sir Hudson Lowe directed that it should be thrown into the sea; he afterwards denied it, but we have a judicial attestation of it, for this act disgusted both lady Malcolm, who was still here, and all the commanders of the store ships who were then here.

"After this, in the month of February last, the captain of the store ship Cambridge, brought out two engravings or prints of young Napoleon, which he had purchased in London. Sir Hudson Lowe had them bought, stating he intended them as a present to the father; and when, a month afterwards, the officers of that ship learnt the contrary to be the fact, (viz. in order to keep them for himself,) they were no longer able to dissemble their indignation at such an act being committed by an Englishman.

"All this conduct on the part of the Governor, cannot be disguised or withheld from the British government. If what the Emperor told lord Amherst were repeated in London; if they enquired of captain Poppleton, who was the orderly officer for two years; if they asked colonel Fehrzen of the 53rd, and many others, they must be aware of the base conduct pursued here."

Conformably with the condition of Buonaparté, as here described, we have other letters on the progress which his disease was making upon him; one of which count de Montholon contrived to convey to the Emperor's sister, the princess Borghese, at Rome, early in the year 1820, as follows:—

"MADAME,

"Napoleon has charged me to give you an account of his health. The malady in his liver, which attacked him many

years ago, and which is mortal in this climate, has, in the course of six weeks, made a frightful progress. The amelioration produced by the care of Dr. Automarchi has not continued, and many relapses took place during the concluding six months of last year, and the disease renders him weaker every day. Napoleon is extremely feeble, and can scarce support half an hour's ride in a carriage with the horses walking. He can just walk in his chamber without assistance. To his liver complaint is added another disorder which belongs to this climate—his intestines are strongly attacked; his digestive organs no longer fulfil their functions, and his stomach rejects all which it receives. For some time Napoleon has eaten neither meat nor bread, nor vegetables: he lives but upon potted meats and ices. Count Bertrand wrote in September last to lord Liverpool, to demand the removal of the Emperor to a more favourable climate, and to convince him of the necessity of its being in the neighbourhood of mineral waters. I have given M. Bonavita a copy of this letter. The governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, refused to transmit it to his government, under the vain pretext that it gave to Napoleon the title of Emperor. M. Bonavita departs to-day for Rome; he has experienced the cruel influence of the climate of St. Helena: one year's residence in this island will cost him six of his existence. The letter which M. Automarchi has written to cardinal Fesch, will give your Highness the circumstantial details of the Emperor's disease. The journals of London constantly publish letters under the head of St. Helena, which abound with lies, and which are fabricated to deceive Europe. Napoleon hopes that your Highness will endeavour to make known the real state of his malady. He dies, without succour, on a frightful rock; his agony is terrible. Receive, Madam, &c.

(Signed) "MONTHOLON."

On the 3rd of September, 1820, marshal Bertrand wrote thus to lord Liverpool:—

"My Lord,

"I had the honour of writing to you on the 25th of June, 1819, to inform you of the situation of the health of the Emperor, who, since the month of October, 1817, has been attacked by a chronical complaint in the liver. Dr. Automarchi arrived here in September last; he dedicated all his care to Napoleon, who obtained from it some relief; but since this physician has declared, as appears from his notes and bulletins, that the disease had reached a point at which the aid of medicine could do nothing against the pernicious effects of the climate; that mineral waters appeared to him to become necessary; that so long as he remained at St. Helena his life would be only a long agony, and that he could hope for no relief but by returning to Europe, his strength being entirely worn out by a residence of five years in the dreadful climate of St. He-

lena; by the privation of every necessary, and by the bad treatment of which he has been the object.

"In consequence, the Emperor commands me, my Lord, to demand, as the only means of preservation which remains to him, to be transferred to Europe."

(Signed) "BERTRAND."

Perhaps a more accurate account of Napoleon's bodily constitution and activity is not to be found than the following, by his friend and companion count Las Cases: he observes,—"Contrary to the general opinion, in which I myself once participated, the Emperor is far from possessing a strong constitution. His limbs are large, but his fibres are relaxed; with a very expanded chest, he is constantly labouring under the effects of cold.—His body is subject to the influence of the slightest accidents. The smell of paint is sufficient to make him ill; certain dishes, or the slightest degree of damp, immediately take a severe effect on him. His body is far from being a body of iron, as is generally supposed; all his strength is in his mind. His prodigious exertions abroad, and his incessant labours at home, are known to every one. No sovereign ever underwent so much bodily fatigue. The most remarkable instance of the Emperor's activity and exertion, was his ride without stirrips from Valladolid to Burgos, (a distance of 35 Spanish leagues, in five hours and a half, that is to say, upwards of seven leagues an hour). The Emperor had set out, accompanied by a numerous escort, in case of danger from the guerrellas; but at every yard he left some of his company behind him, and arrived at Burgos with but few followers. His ride from Vienna to the Simmering, (a distance of eighteen or twenty leagues) is also frequently talked of.—The Emperor rode to breakfast at the Simmering, and returned to Vienna immediately after. Napoleon often hunted to the distance of thirty-eight leagues, and never less than fifteen. One day a Russian officer, who had come as a courier from St. Petersburgh in the space of twelve or thirteen days, arrived at Fontainbleau,

at the moment the Emperor was about to set out on a hunt. The officer had the honour to be invited to join the hunting party. He, of course, accepted the invitation, but he dropped down in the forest, overcome by fatigue, and was not found until after a considerable search had been made for him.

"I have known the Emperor to be engaged in business in the council of state for eight or nine hours successively, and afterwards rise with his ideas as clear as when he sat down. I have seen him at St. Helena peruse books for ten or twelve hours in succession, on the most abstruse subjects, without appearing the least fatigued. He has suffered, unmoved, the greatest shocks that ever man experienced. On his return from Moscow or Leipsig, after he had communicated the disastrous event in the Council of State, he said,—'It has been reported in Paris, that this misfortune turned my hair grey; but you see it is not so; (pointing to his head,) and I hope I shall be able to support many other reverses.' But these prodigious exertions were made only, as it were, in despite of his physical powers, which never appear less susceptible than when his mind is in full activity.

"The Emperor eats very irregularly, but generally very little. He often says, that a man may hurt himself by eating too much, but never by eating too little. He will remain four-and-twenty hours without eating, only to get an appetite for the ensuing day. But, if he eats little, he drinks still less. A single glass of Madeira or Champagne is sufficient to restore his strength, and to produce cheerfulness of spirits. He sleeps very little, and very irregularly, generally rising at day-break to read or write, and afterwards lying down to sleep again. The Emperor has no faith in medicine, and never takes any. He had adopted a peculiar mode of treatment for himself. Whenever he found himself unwell, his plan was to run into an extreme, the opposite of what happened to be his

habit at the time—This he calls restoring the equilibrium of nature. If, for instance, he had been inactive for a length of time, he would suddenly ride about sixty miles, or hunt for a whole day. If, on the contrary, he had been harassed by great fatigues, he would resign himself to a state of absolute rest for twenty-four hours. These unexpected shocks infallibly brought about an internal crisis, and instantly produced the desired effect. This remedy, he observed, never failed.

" The Emperor's lymphatic system is deranged, and his blood circulates with difficulty. ' Nature,' he said ' had endowed him with two important advantages—the one was, the power of sleeping whenever he needed repose, at any hour, and in any place; another was, that he was incapable of committing any injurious excess, either in eating or drinking. If,' said he, ' I go the least beyond my mark, my stomach instantly revolts.' He is subject to nausea from very slight causes; a mere tickling cough is sufficient to produce that effect on him.

" According to those persons with whom Napoleon was most intimate at St. Helena, his young heir was the continual object of his solicitude, during the last seven years. ' *For him alone*' he said, ' *I returned from the isle of Elba; and if I still form some expectations in exile, they are also for him.*'—' Do I deceive myself' demanded he, one day of the countess Montholon, ' in imagining that this rock, all-frightful as it is, would be an Elysium, if my son were by my side! on receiving into my arms that infant, so many times fervently demanded of Heaven, could I have believed that one day he would become the source of my greatest anguish? *Yes, Madam, every day he costs me tears of blood.*—I imagine to myself the most horrid events, which I cannot remove from my mind. *I see either the potion or the empoisoned fruit which is about to terminate the days of that young innocent,*

by the most cruel sufferings. Compassionate my weakness, Madam,—console me.'

"What must have been the agonizing tortures of a man who thus expressed himself?"

The cause of the removal of count Las Cases from St. Helena, originated with his having a young negro servant, who wishing to come to Europe, obtained permission so to do, and was preparing to set sail. Relying upon the fidelity of this attendant, the Count dictated to his son a letter relative to his own private affairs, written upon a piece of silk; this was sewed within the lining of the negro's waistcoat, in order to be conveyed to France.

The bearer, however, unfortunately conceiving that he was intrusted with some document of high importance, confided the affair to his mother, who could not conceal it from her husband, inhabitants of St. Helena, by which publicity it came to the ears of Sir Hudson Lowe, who issued his orders accordingly; when the arrest and confinement of the Count and his son took place, which led to their subsequent departure from the island.

It was commonly reported and believed, that Napoleon took such an immoderate quantity of snuff, that for want of a box large enough, like Prince Eugene, he used to cram it into his waistcoat pocket. The fact is, that out of twelve pounds of the only kind of snuff he used, brought from Paris in July, 1815, rather more than half remained when Dr. O'Meara left St. Helena, in July, 1818.

Napoleon, it seems, was frequently under great apprehensions for the fate of his manuscripts: this was occasioned by the treatment which Las Cases had suffered from Sir Hudson Lowe, and the detention of his own papers. He said, 'it was contrary to all law, to detain papers belonging to him', (Napoleon.) 'Perhaps,' said he, 'he will come up here some day, and say that he has received intimation that a plot is in agitation to effect my escape.—What guarantee have I, that when I have nearly finished my history, he will not seize the

whole of it? It is true that I can keep my manuscripts in my own room, and with a couple of brace of pistols, I can despatch the first who enters. I must burn the whole of what I have written. It served as an amusement to me in this dismal abode, and might, perhaps, have been interesting to the world, but with this *Sbirro-Siciliano* there is no guarantee nor security. He violates every law, and tramples decency, politeness, and the common forms of society, under foot. He came up (here to Longwood) with a savage joy beaming from his eyes, because he had an opportunity of insulting and tormenting us. While surrounding the house with his staff, he reminded me of the savages of the South-sea islands dancing round the prisoners whom they were about to devour: he desired Mr. O'Meara to repeat what he had then said to Sir Hudson Lowe, and which, of course, brought on much crimination and recrimination; which it is not within our province to repeat.

While looking over a number of papers (chiefly Portsmouth), 'Ah,' said Napoleon, 'some of my money has gone to pay for these estates.—After the abdication at Fontainbleau, upwards of forty millions of francs, my private property, was seized and taken from my treasurer at Orleans. Of this money, about five-and-twenty millions were divided amongst T***, M**, and C**. The money thus seized, included the marriage-portion of the Empress Marie-Louise, which had been paid in sovereigns of gold, an old German coin. The remainder was placed in the French treasury. The whole of these sums had been guaranteed to me by the treaty of Fontainbleau. The share which C*** obtained was very large, and the exact amount of it is known to me.'

A short time before the death of Napoleon, on the 5th of May, 1821, it seems that a disposition to soften the rigour with which he had been treated, began to show itself in the British cabinet; as it transpired by way of France, that the princess

Borghese, his sister, who had long solicited the British government for leave to join her brother at St. Helena, obtained permission so to do, and was making the necessary preparations for the voyage, when she heard of Napoleon's decease.

But to return to the Emperor, whose disease had been gaining rapidly upon him for several weeks; as he found his end approach, he was habited, at his own request, in his uniform of field-marshal, with his boots and spurs, and placed on a camp-bed, on which he was accustomed to sleep when in health, and preferred to every other. In this dress he expired. Though Buonaparté is supposed to have suffered much, his dissolution was so calm and serene, that not a sigh escaped him, or any intimation to the by-standers that it was so near.—His attendants wished his body to be conveyed to Europe; but this was *over-ruled*, and his immortal remains were permitted to rest, as before stated, in a beautiful valley, under the pendant branches of the combined shade of several flourishing weeping willows, near his favourite spring, and not far distant from the place of his residence. The grave was ten feet long, ten deep, and five wide; the bottom is a solid rock, the sides and ends are walled in with Portland stone; the top of the grave is elevated about eight inches above the surface of the ground, and covered over with three rough slate stones, which had been taken from the kitchen floor of the new house that had been constructed for his residence. The tomb was railed round with green railing, and a sentinel walked round it night and day, to prevent approach within the railing. There was no inscription upon the tomb. The ground surrounding it, it was understood, was to be laid out as gardens, for the accommodation of those who came to visit the grave of the departed Emperor.

The cemetry of Napoleon is a singular instance of adaptation to the character of the individual buried,—a vast rock rising out of the ocean, alone, towering, unshaken, and magnificent; a perfect

emblem of the genius of the man, as it must appear in future history.

" He sleeps in the vale, near the brook and the willows,
The greatly magnanimous—first of the brave!
In making his bed 'mid the far distant billows,
He look'd upon Europe unworthy his grave.
He is gone! and as long as his *urn* in the ocean
Is wash'd by the waters, high swelling and wide,
Will the nations confess, with a mingled emotion,
His glory, his wrongs, and how calmly he died,"

The will, or testament of Napoleon, is dated as being written at Longwood, in the island of St. Helena, on the 14th of April, 1812; of which the following is a translation;—

TESTAMENT OF NAPOLEON.

" *This day, April* 14, 1821, *at Longwood, in the island of St Helena.*

" This is my testament, or act of my last will:—

" I leave to the comte de Montholon 2,000,000 francs, as a proof of my satisfaction for the attentions he has paid to me for these six years, and to indemnify him for the losses which my residence in St. Helena has occasioned him.

" I leave to the comte Bertrand 500,000 francs.

" I leave to Marchand, my first valet-de-chambre, 400,000 francs; the services he has performed for me are those of a friend. I desire that he may marry a widow, sister, or daughter of an officer or soldier of my old guard;—to Saint Denis, 100,000 francs;—to Navarre, 100,000 francs;—to Pijeron, 400,000 francs;—to Archambaud, 50,000 francs;—to Cuvier, 50,000 francs;—to Chandelle, *idem.*

" To the abbé Vimale, 100,000 francs. I desire that he may build his house near Ponte Novo de Rossino.

" To count Las Cases, 100,000 francs.

" To count Lavalette, 100,000 francs.

" To the surgeon in chief, Larrey, 100,000 francs. He is the most virtuous man I have known.

" To general Lefevre Desnouettes, 100,000 francs.

" To general Drouett, 100,000 francs.

" To general Cambroune, 100,000 francs.

" To the children of general Muton Duvernass, 100,000 francs.

" To the children of the brave Labedoyere, 100,000 francs

" To the children of general Girard, killed at Ligny, 100,000 francs.

" To the children of general Chartrau, 100,000 francs.

" To the children of the virtuous general Travost, 100,000 francs.

" To general Lallemand, the elder, 100,000 francs.

" To Costa Bastilica, also 100,000 francs.

" To general Clausel, 100,000 francs.

" To the baron de Menevalle, 100,000 francs.

" To Arnault, author of *Marius*, 100,000 francs.

" To colonel Marbot, 100,000 francs. I request him to continue to write for the defence and the glory of the French armies, and to confound the calumniators and the apostates.

" To the baron Bignon, 100,000 francs. I request him to write the history of the French Diplomacy from 1792 to 1815.

" To Poggi de Talaro, 100,000 francs.

" To the surgeon, Emmery, 100,000 francs.

" These sums shall be taken from the six millions which I deposited on leaving Paris in 1815, and from the interest at the rate of 5 per cent. since July, 1815; the account of which shall be adjusted with the bankers by the counts Montholon, Bertrand, and Marchand.

" These legacies, in the case of death, shall be paid to the widows and children, and in their default, shall revert to the capital.

" I institute the counts Montholon, Bertrand, and Marchand, my testamentary executors.

" This present testament, written entirely by my own hand, is signed and sealed with my arms.

" NAPOLEON."

April 24, 1821, *Longwood.*

" This is my codicil to the act of my last will:—

" On the liquidation of my civil list of Italy—such as money, jewels, plate, coffers, caskets, of which the Viceroy is the depositary, and which belong to me.—I dispose of two millions, which I leave to my most faithful servants. I hope that, without their shewing any cause, my son Eugene Napoleon will discharge them faithfully. He cannot forget the forty millions which I have given him in Italy, or by the right *(parage)* of his mother's inheritance.

" To the count Montholon, 200,0000 francs, 100,000 of which he will pay into the chest, for the same use as the above, to be employed according to my dispositions in the discharge of legacies of conscience.

" This codicil is written in my own hand, signed and sealed with my arms. " NAPOLEON."

April 24, 1812, *Longwood.*

" This is also another codicil, or act of my last will:—

" The £9,000 sterling which we have given to the comte and the comtess Montholon, if they have been paid, are to be deducted and charged in account against the legacies which we

have made him by our testament. If they have not been paid, our bills shall be cancelled.

" In consequence of the legacy made by our testament to the comte Montholon, the pension of 20,000 francs granted to his wife is annulled. Count Montholon is directed to pay it to her.

" The administration of such succession, until its entire liquidation, requiring expences in offices, for journeys, commission, consultations, pleadings, we intend that our testamentary executors shall retain 3 per cent. on all the legacies both on the 6,800,000 francs, and on the sums bequeathed by the codicils,

" The sums proceeding from these deductions shall be deposited in the hands of a treasurer, and expended on the order of our testamentary executors.

" We appoint count Las Cases, or in his default, his son, and in his default, general Drouett, treasurer.

" This present codicil is entirely written with our own hand, and sealed with our own arms. " NAPOLEON."

This 24th of April, 1821, *Longwood.*

" This is my codicil and act of my last will:—

" From the funds remitted in gold to the Empress Maria Louise, my dear and well beloved spouse, at Orleans, in 1814, there remain due to me two millions, which I dispose of by the present codicil, in order to recompence my most faithful servants, whom I besides recommend to the protection of my dear Maria Louise.

" I leave 200,000 francs to comte Montholon, 100,000 francs of which he shall pay into the chest of the treasurer, for the same purpose as the above, to be employed, according to my dispositions, in legacies of conscience.

" This codicil is written with my own hand, and signed and sealed with my arms, " NAPOLEON."

" Monsieur Lafitte—I remitted to you in 1815, at the moment of my departure from Paris, a sum of nearly six millions, for which you gave me a double receipt. I have cancelled one of the receipts, and I have charged count de Montholon to present to you the other receipt, in order that you may after my death deliver to him the said sum, with interest at the rate of 5 per cent. from the 1st of July, 1815, deducting the payments with which you have been charged in virtue of my order.

" I desire that the liquidation of your account be settled by mutual consent between you, comte Montholon, comte Bertrand, and the Sieur Marchand; and that this liquidation being adjusted, I give you by these presents, full and absolute discharge of the sum,

" I also remitted to you a box containing my medallion. I beg you will deliver it to comte de Montholon.

"This letter having no other object, I pray God, Monsieur Lafitte, that he may have you in his holy and worthy keeping.

"NAPOLEON."

Longwood, in the island of St. Helena,
April 25, 1821.

This testament was presented on the 10th of December, 1821, to the Prerogative court of the lord archbishop of Canterbury, deposited and registered, according to the affidavit, in the hands of Mr. Fox, notary and attorney of the court.

In a kind of codicil to this, or rather what has been called a *political will*, it is understood that Napoleon disposed of an almost imperial fortune to public institutions, and to particular classes. In answer to the enquiry, how such a treasure was obtained? it was stated that as Emperor, Napoleon enjoyed a civil list of 24 millions a-year, out of this, by living within his income, he saved 10 millions during four successive years. After his return from Russia, or during the Russian campaign, he ordered all these savings to be lent for the public service. This loan he reclaimed by his last will.

The affair of Napoleon's will came before the tribunal of the Chambers at Paris, with closed doors, at the latter end of April, 1822, when the cause was adjourned to hear the King's attorney-general. It was then presumed, that Buonaparté, having been proclaimed a rebel and a traitor, he could have no property to assign over, or devise at the time, when he placed the funds under dispute in the hands of M. Lafitte the banker. And it was ultimately determined, that the documents brought forward by the plaintiffs to prove their right to the litigated fund, either as attornies, or the executors of Buonaparté, were insufficient.

Though some attempts at comparison have been made, in order to illustrate the character of Napoleon Buonaparté, yet, upon mature and impartial reflection, we cannot find one in the records of history to whom we can liken him. The greatest resemblances are to be found in the exploits of Han-

nibal and Cæsar. He was as prompt as Hannibal, as decided as Cæsar, and he was as brave and more generous than either. He commenced his military career as a lieutenant of engineers; he reduced the chaos of the French revolution to order; assuaged the bloody fury of the parties in the interior of France, and fought her battles when she was assailed by a combination of kings, who certainly thought, with the Holy Alliance, at present, that "*divine right*" permitted them to yoke millions to their chariots, and to become the Pharoahs of modern times. He conquered the enemies of his country, and victory succeeded to victory, till he was dignified with the consulate, and left the great Moreau only admiration and applause. Under Napoleon it cannot be denied the arts flourished, and merit emerged from degradation and obscurity. In a country where learning was confined to syllogisms and flattery, or to superstition and the enslavement of men's minds, and where genius languished, it was impossible that a nation could thrive. These things Buonaparté destroyed in France; and if he has experienced the danger attending ambition, he has also proved the little value that people can attach to the promises of kings. His history is interwoven with our own. In humbling him we have not elevated ourselves.—We stretched the giant, but we share his fall. He still lives as the wonder of posterity. Montesquieu said of Cæsar, that "if born in a republic, his genius would have converted it into a monarchy—if born under a monarchy, his genius would alter it to a republic;" and we believe the application completely suited to Napoleon.

Napoleon was the inveterate enemy of this country, it is true—but he paid the full forfeit; and if he did us much injury by his hostility, it was also the means of calling forth so many energies, and producing such a display of patriotism on the part of this country, that it may be fairly doubted, whether he served or injured us most by his enmity.—

But he is dead; and the hatred he excited, when alive, should be buried in the grave which encloses his remains. Whatever shall be said of him henceforth, will not be marked by vindictive feelings; an exception may occur here and there; but the generous and high-minded will mark it with indignation. The towering height to which he ascended; the self-possession which he displayed during his meteor-like ascent; the humble level from which he darted; and the presence of mind, or rather perfect ease, which he displayed when he alighted on that narrow and giddy summit, evidently proved that his genius was of the eagle kind. He rose by the natural strength of his wings; and when he soared at a vast distance above the ordinary region of humanity, in that keen air, where mortals can scarcely breathe, it was plain, he was in a congenial element. But, if he had powers more than mortal, he wanted the amiable qualities of human nature;—generally speaking, he neither loved or pitied—he never stopped a moment to consider, when he was rushing upon one of those enterprizes which astonished the world by their grandeur, and by the rapidity by which they were executed, what mischief he might occasion in consequence; he was apparently unmoved by human sufferings, and he probably participated as little in their joys. This insensibility was one of the causes of his wonderful success; and it was, no doubt, one of the reasons of his rapid descent.—Pleasure called to him in vain to stop and refresh himself in one of her bowers, whilst he was bounding up the steep and rugged hill of Ambition. The Charities implored him to no purpose to check his furious pace: and when we consider the natural strength of his genius, without any thing to impede its course, we are not astonished at the height to which he mounted. Yet he could sometimes act the part of a man of feeling, but the exhibition had always a theatrical appearance and effect. He also never had, perhaps, a real friend; and

as he never felt sympathy till he himself tasted affliction, he never inspired it. He commanded admiration, he inspired the greatest zeal in his service; he controled the minds of his adherents, and he exercised an empire over them, which was, in reality, astonishing, and almost unparalleled, but he created no attachment; and the noble fidelity which some of his followers shewed to him in his adversity, was the homage which a mind like his could exact from generous natures, but it was not affection. As to his military talents, they are so deeply engraven in the brazen tablet of fame, that it would show less stupidity, than the envy of a base spirit, to deny them.

Yet pity it is that the results of any victory gained over him should be deplored; particularly the ever-memorable field of Waterloo.—This, it has justly been observed, was as fatal to the liberties of Europe, in its effects, as that of Phillippi was to those of Rome; and like it, has precipitated Europe into the hands of triumvirs. It had indeed the effect of removing Napoleon from the world, and of crushing the master-spirit whose boundless ambition shook to their foundations the institutions of ages—whose conquering arm annihilated the legitimate boundaries of empires, and whose political death people were led to believe would secure the prosperity and consolidate the peace of Europe; but it has enabled those calculating despots, as the result of their *congresses*, their *sanctified* titles, and their selfish policy, fearlessly to "associate together for the oppression of mankind, the suppression of knowledge, and the restoration of superstition."

When the Holy Alliance, in the express words of their decree, put Napoleon out of the pale of civil society, they had but one means of practically justifying their sentence of excommunication, by acting on principles diametrically opposite to the ambition, inhumanity, and perfidy with which they charged him. But how have they shewn

their title to pronounce *him* the exclusive enemy of human rights? Potentates, who have themselves trampled on the independence of smaller states—who have committed the most flagrant injustice on Saxony and Genoa—who have conspired against the freedom of the European press—who have interpreted legitimate governments to mean, the atrocious edicts of a Turkish divan,—who have proclaimed principles, which if admitted, would have forbidden lord Exmouth to attack Algiers,—who have refused constitutions promised to their people, —who have massacred men in Italy for attempting to frame a new government,—and who have looked with criminal passiveness on the tortures and extermination of Christians in Greece, whom they could have saved by a word of their breath. To Napoleon's memory we can do nothing worse, than compare his most arbitrary acts and intentions with theirs; but to institute any comparison between their intellects and his, would be a mean and absurd insult to his ashes.

The love, or rather the necessity of war, was so deep rooted in the breast of France when Napoleon came into power, that his first and last attempts were all directed to the perfection and completion of its art. The tactics that he followed were new to Europe, and singularly his own. Dispatch, surprize, and promptitude, were their prominent features. Schools were every where formed to train his youth to travail and to labour; to mathematics and to gunnery; schools of swimming and engineering; in fine, schools of every nature that could mould the growing man to arms, to labour, and fatigue, were all erected and endowed by him, whilst hospitals were enriched and considerably enlarged in every department, to aid his sickly or disabled warriors. Hence, their patience, under privations almost unheard-of, and hence they frequently died glorying in the wounds inflicted by a valiant or defeated enemy.

After his career of victory, *distinctions of rank*

began to multiply, and scarcely a trace was left of revolutionary liberty and equality. The vast fabric which Napoleon had raised, he saw could only be maintained by success, and that the loss of a single battle might become the signal for revolution, or for deserting him, as the event has proved. Repeated victories, however, could not satisfy his insatiable appetite for glory. He never foresaw any reverses, or if he did, he never made any provision against them. He depended too much upon his "high destinies" and tributary kings; he expected too much from his newly-created marshals. These kings found themselves as only instruments in his hands, and the marshals saw no end to his arduous campaigns. Notwithstanding the immense height to which France was raised during his imperial sway, and the rapid succession of his splendid victories, there was disaffection at heart, though latent and unperceived: the Jacobins, sworn enemies to crowned heads, were always numerous, and many of them powerful. The empress Josephine well knew this, and by the distribution of £400,000 a year, contributed to keep down the unruly spirits. Her manners conciliated, and her bounty relieved; her conduct and her address changed even her husband's enemies into friends. But from the moment that the empress Maria-Louise occupied her place, she ceased in this work of peace, and Napoleon soon found, that in venturing upon this connection, he had approached a dangerous precipice, the brink of which had only been concealed by a bed of flowers.

"Cradled in the camp (however) he was to the last hour the darling of the army.—Of all his soldiers not one forsook him till affection was useless, and even then, their first stipulation was for his safety. They knew well, that if he was lavish of them, he was prodigal of himself; and that if he exposed them to peril, he repaid them with riches. The victorious veteran glittered with his gains,

and the capital of France, gorgeous with the spoils of art, became the miniature metropolis of the universe."

It was most improperly, indeed, that a great statesman, styled Napoleon the "child and champion of Jacobinism:" a charge repelled to a degree of superfluity by the events that have succeeded this charge. "*He*, says the abbe de Pradt, "he, the representative of the revolution!—The revolution broke the connection between France and religion; he renewed them. The revolution overthrew the temples to the Almighty, he restored them. The revolution subverted the throne, he raised it up. The revolution banished from their country the nobility of France, he opened to them the gates of his palaces, though he knew them to be his irreconcileable enemies; and, for the most part, enemies of the public good. He brought from Rome the head of the Catholic church, to anoint his brow with the oil that constituted diadems. This *representative of a revolution*, which has been declared hostile to sovereignty, filled Germany with kings, advanced the rank of princes, restored superior royalty, and re-constructed a defaced model. He, like another Justinian, drew up, in the midst of the din of war, and the snares of foreign policy, those codes which are the least defective portion of human legislation, and constructed the most vigorous machine of government in the whole world. He, who was vulgarly accused of having subverted all institutions, restored universities and schools, filled his empire with master-pieces of art, and accomplished those amazing and stupendous works which reflect honour on human genius; and yet in the face of the Alps which bowed down at his command; of the ocean subdued at Cherbourg, at Flushing, the Helder, and at Antwerp; of rivers smoothly flowing beneath the bridges of Jena, Serres, Bordeaux, and Turin; of canals uniting seas together, in a course beyond the controul of Neptune; finally, in the face of Paris, metamor-

phosed as it was by Napoleon, he was pronounced the agent of general annihilation! He, who *restored* all was said to be the representative of that which *destroyed* all! To what kind of men is this language supposed to have been addressed?"

Upon the whole it appears that Napoleon Buonaparté was one of those men who seem intended by fate to exalt the human character to the highest pitch of grandeur and sublimity. To a mind capable of grasping almost at infinity, he joined all those qualities which we reverence and admire, even in an enemy. As a soldier and conqueror he had no equal; with the daring intrepidity and fearlessness of danger that distinguished Alexander, he combined all the consummate policy and talents of a Cæsar, and like the latter, he became the victim of his boundless ambition. Fortune, ever fickle, where merit alone is her fee, seemed for a considerable time to shape events to his will, and contradictions, the most apparent, yielded to his genius, obedient to his nod; but at last, as if jealous of the way in which he used her favours, she made him feel her power, and hurled him, as it were, from a throne to a prison.—It is not true that he was devoid of social qualities: his attendants, and the companions of his captivity, both English and French, proved the contrary of this both by sea and land, one solitary example excepted. To sum up his character in a few words, his greatness was obscured by his ambition and his love of absolute power. If he was constant in his friendships, he was implacable where he disliked; with him it was but to distrust and to condemn. To a natural impetuosity he added a decision of character whose conceptions and executions followed quick as heaven's lightning. He was at once the patron of genius and the despot—the idol of his soldiery, but the rigid punisher of the slightest error in discipline;—the adored and liberal master, though a slave to his own passions. But he is no more! and nothing but a simple stone marks the place which

contains all that is earthly of Napoleon Buonaparté, a name which to the "day of doom" will be hated or admired as the passions are influenced, or the judgment convinced. The gradations of his wonderful rise and progress through life have been thus marked out:—

Napoleon born	*Aug.* 15, 1769
Entered the military school of Brienne .	1779
Transferred to the school of Paris . . .	1783
Lieutenant in the 1st Artillery regiment of la Fere	*Sept.* 1, 1785
Captain	*Feb.* 6, 1792
Chief of Battalion	*Oct.* 19, 1793
General of Brigade	*Feb.* 6, 1794
General of Division	*Oct.* 16, 1795
General in Chief of the Army of the Interior, ...	*Oct.* 26, 1795
General in Chief of the Army of Italy,	*Feb.* 23, 1796
First Consul	*Dec.* 13, 1799
Consul for Life	*Aug.* 2, 1802
Emperor	*May* 18, 1804
Crowned	*Dec.* 2, 1804
First abdication at Fontainbleau	*Apr.* 11, 1814
Resumed the reins of government	*Mar.* 20, 1815
Second abdication at l'Elysée .	*June* 21, 1815
Departed for St. Helena . . .	*Aug.* 7, 1815
Deceased in that island	*May* 5, 1821

FINIS.

W. Day, Printer, 17, Goswell Street, London

General Kosciusko.

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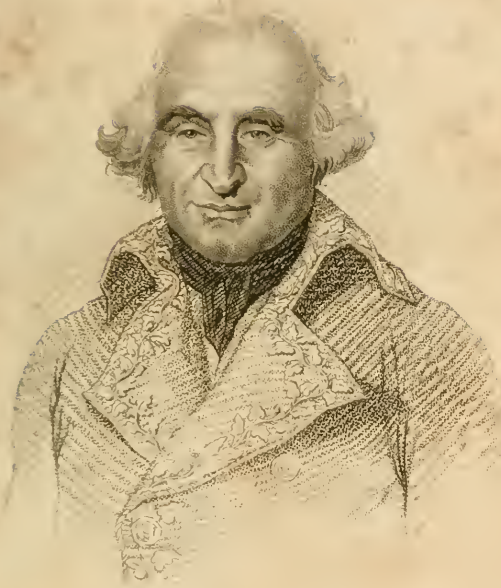

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